Daily Report

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Virtues, Flaws of Younger Generation Cited

AU0608213190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Jul 90 pp 3, 4

[Article by Lisen Bashkurti, first secretary of the Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee: "A Generation of Dedicated Patriots and Revolutionaries"]

[Excerpts] Everyone recognizes the purity, worth, and immeasurable resources and abilities of Albania's youth today. These virtues are based on ancient traditions, and the party's special care has cultivated them in the recent decades of efforts and achievements.

The younger generations of all the Albanian-speaking territories have always been distinguished for their ardent patriotism. There is no need to look back in history to realize that modern Albanian young people are worthy successors to the generations which centuries ago rescued western European civilization from the Ottoman hordes—generations who covered the homeland with blood in the years of the League of Prizren [1878], who martyred themselves to prevent the partition of Albania, who struggled against satraps and fascists, and who founded the party and made Albania free through innumerable sacrifices. The same blood flows in the veins of all honest young Albanians, inherited pure from their ancestors, grandparents, mothers, and fathers. If some creatures lacking in national dignity emerge, this natural phenomenon in any human society gives no one, neither chatterers within our country nor demagogues abroad, the right to confuse a few twisted saplings with the entire forest. However, even we comrades in youth must keep our feet on the ground. If "infections" have contaminated certain young people in Tirana, Durres, Shkoder, and elsewhere, the youth organizations and committees in these districts should draw a lesson. If the "worm" has entered some young workers in Tirana factories and some enterprises in the country's larger districts, this means that the work carried out with this category of young people has not been good enough, and has been a classic case of formalism. The youth organizations and committees of the districts I mentioned have a great deal of work to do with these young people, who require more vigorous, skilled, and varied kinds of activities. [passage omitted]

Albanians have always been marked by love and homesickness for their birthplace. Even when their worries have them driven abroad or history has scattered them in all directions, Albanians have always either taken with them a piece of earth from their own village, district, or town, or they have returned to set foot on their own soil again. Our modern young people are also closely attached to their birthplace. [passage omitted]

However, it must be said that if the youth organizations of Permet, Puke, Mirdite, Berat, and Skrapar are cultivating this attachment to their birthplace very well, we come across formalism in some other districts where there are still young villagers who aspire to a boulevard life, or urban youths who have fallen victim to the lies of foreign television screens. We are not ostriches to be frightened of foreign programs, but neither are we so shortsighted as to be palmed off with something bogus. While glued to foreign programs, let us not forget that our life is here. There is something to be learned from these programs, but let us put it to the service of the homeland, on which we should not turn our backs. In this sense, the "plow" of the youth organization's work is only scratching the surface. This plow must dig deeper and deeper, so that every young person should profoundly love the country where he rests his head; not only this, he should devote his entire soul to it. This task cannot be accomplished without courage, passion, and total dedication. [passage omitted]

Fortunately, today as always, national and democratic feelings are inseparable for the Albanians. We have never valued ourselves at the expense of others. It is of vital importance to instill a sense of national identity deep in the souls of young people. On this subject, the youth organization has a lot to say, because it is still not speaking out loud and clear. It is not uncommon to hear and see signs of spiritual emptiness and vulgarity among even school-age young people, all under the guise of a modern life-style. On the Tirana-Durres trains, in buses, and in public places, you can see young people who break rules and regulations at random in the name of democracy. One sees pure snobbery in their clothing and appearance, in the medieval relics they hang round their necks, in their tastes, and so on, which all have a common denominator in lack of culture and civil awareness. Spiritual emptiness and vulgarity, random behavior and attitudes, snobbery, and rowdiness are quite alien to our spiritual and cultural character. Our character is not petrified or schematic. On the contrary, it gives to the world and takes from it, to the extent that it does not lose sight of the homeland and socialism. These are not merely our demands, but those of every cultured and civilized nation and society. A youth well-leavened with national virtues turns away with revulsion from mannerisms and snobbery of all kinds. National identity is fundamental for a small nation like ours. As we know, a little boat finds the ocean rougher than a big steamship. [passage omitted]

When confronted with today's problems for young people, there is no place for weeping and wailing. Our parents, past generations, and our ancestors have built for us a house in which our basic needs are met. Of course, a lot of work is necessary to complete and decorate this house built from our own resources. If the roof leaks here and there, this requires a rolling up of sleeves, not chattering criticism and the illusory dreams of boulevards. If our needs are great and there are shortages, this is no disgrace. It is a disgrace to steal, to put your honor on the auction block, and to sell your homeland. Now more than ever, the homeland calls for young people's work.

We must admit that, starting in our families, young people's habits and enthusiasm for work are not what they should be. "Don't touch manual work, stick to your

lessons;" "Go out for a walk, we'll do the work ourselves;" "We work for our children, let them enjoy themselves;" "They're only young, let them please themselves, the time for work will come," etc. These are all expressions you may often hear and with which our families bring up young people in a spirit of slothfulness and parasitism, and into an easy life at their parents' expense. Add to these the shortcomings of some students who study more to acquire knowledge for a profession than to acquire working habits, love of work, or love for a profession. These students grow up into agronomists who do not like muddy fields, engineers who are ready to change jobs with waiters, and the like. There are also a whole bundle of defects in the work of the youth organization, which suffer from formalism and excessive moralizing. A few days ago, we went with some of our comrades to some enterprises in Tirana. What can you see? Absenteeism, undisciplined young people, negligent youth organization leaders, and rusty administration. Amazingly, not only is nothing done, but extra workers are recruited. Total, supine sloth! Nobody can live from slothfulness, and nothing can be done without work. In this field, families, schools, and the youth organizations must all weld themselves in greater unity to bring up the younger generation. In this way, we will serve the homeland better, which vitally needs the energies and minds of young people.

'Rumormongers' Become 'Enemy's Mouthpiece'

AU0608170990 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 1 Aug 90 p 2

[Selami Spahiu article: "The Broken Telephone"]

[Text] "Hey, have you heard?"

"No, what's happened?"

"So-and-so got a phone call from his son, who went into the embassy. He called from Germany."

"Really?"

"He said they're doing very well. It's heaven, beyond what they imagined. Bachelors have been given a room and a kitchen, and families have been given two rooms and a kitchen with every possible appliance, telephone, color television, and a tape recorder. They sit on the couch, press buttons, and everything happens. Wonderful—beyond their wildest dreams."

The news passes from mouth to mouth, each person embellishing it according to taste. One person says they have been given cars, someone else that they have such-and-such an amount of money, and who knows what else.

But before a few days pass, a foreign radio station carries an item reporting that they are living in refugee camps and that their prospects for employment are not at all clear at a time when Germany itself has hundreds of thousands out of work. The rumor at once bursts like a soap bubble.

Amazing rumors pass from mouth to mouth and ear to ear every day. People of all sorts and of all ages, including many young people, hear a recent "piece of news" and hurry to pass it on to their friends like something precious. The rumor runs:

"Have you heard? So-and-so has been sacked."

"No, I saw him at work today!"

"No question about it. A friend who works with him told me. Take it or leave it."

So the conversations continue, like over a "broken telephone": "I was told...." "I heard myself...." "I saw it with my own eyes...."

People fall victim to this large-scale rumormongering to a greater or lesser extent, but young people are especially prone, because of their natural curiosity. There are those who listen in amazement, and wonder how such things happen, without asking their friend, neighbor, or traveling companion where the news came from when the press has reported nothing. They do not ask the source, but merely listen in silence.

There are others who have become the enemy's loudspeakers, making mountains out of molehills and concocting all kinds of tales. They can hardly wait to pick up a piece of news and pass it on as something big.

It can be understood that all this rumormongering is not simply an expression of excessive curiosity which exaggerates and embellishes things. It has a source as well as a purpose. For every well-brought-up young person and for every true patriot, this source is none other than our domestic and foreign enemies, who, in unison with each other, are trying every means to confuse and disorient us. Their ultimate aim is to denigrate our socialist achievements and the correct line of the party by sowing a sense of insecurity for the future.

When one hears a new piece of news, whether accurate or fictitious, it is necessary to verify its truth, ask about its source, and thus ask the person who conveys it where he found it and who told him, in order not to be given wooden nickels. Youth organizations in particular should be on guard against all kinds of rumors and groundless pieces of information with no official source. The enemy's slogan, "Lie, lie, because a part of it will stick," is well known to everybody. When everybody fails to oppose such things at once, a lot of work and effort become necessary to repair the situation.

Let us talk patiently with those young people who, willingly or not, become carriers of false information. Let us explain to them the situation and the enemy's aims, while putting in their place those young people or adults who beat their breasts and talk about everything with authority, considering themselves to be one-man

news agencies who are present at every event like Nastradin [Nastradin Hoxha, a wise trickster figure in Albanian folk literature]. Through their actions, they willingly or unwillingly become the enemy's mouthpiece. It is our job to nip such things in the bud.

Of course, this cannot be done at a single meeting or discussion group. It is done day by day, at work, at home, in the streets, and everywhere. Otherwise, if you stand idly by, you will sooner or later fall victim to this rumormongering.

'Speculators' Cause 'Revival' of Black Market

AU0608182490 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Jul 90 p 2

[Sedat Braja article: "Is There Control of Private Trade?!"]

[Text] The state shops are always increasing their range of domestic and imported goods. However, customers' demands are increasing, and stores are often "bare," especially of certain goods in short supply. In order to fill this "gap," various speculators have surfaced, who are trying to carry out a redistribution.... It is not hard to see—in front of department stores for industrial goods—individuals selling at high prices every item that appears on the market for the first time or is available only in small quantities, from fabrics and pullovers to jewelry, plastic goods, and insecticide. As the Tirana organs of justice have told us, there have been cases in which entire consignments of the attractive socks produced by the Korce knitwear factory have fallen into the hands of these individuals, to be resold at higher prices than those set by the state. The same thing has happened in front of clubs, when certain kinds of filter cigarettes have been illegally bought in large quantities and sold to citizens at different prices. Such incidents point to corruption among some retail workers and warehousemen.

It is wrong that some people permit themselves such activities, but it is even worse when the organs responsible for protecting the law remain silent. This silence means retreat and apathy. Comrades in the Retail Section of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council and some directors of retail enterprises do not seem to us to be taking a firm stand. When we ask them if there is a law preventing such activities, they catch each other's eye and talk only about some internal "regulations," about whose enforcement shop assistants have been reminded. They also say that some disciplinary measures were taken in past years.... Now that these activities have somehow revived, these punishments have been forgotten. At Tirana District Court, sentences for such misdemeanors have been reduced or moderated because the responsible authorities take less interest in "tracing" violations of this kind. They are perhaps influenced by a kind of misunderstanding of the permission given for the exercise of certain private professions or for the sale of surpluses from the cooperatives. There are definite places and rules for services of this kind and the sale of agricultural produce. Official inspectors should act more firmly in these places also.

Democracy in the market does not mean breaking the law and allowing certain people to develop a black market. No unfair or speculative activity can be in any way democratic. It does not help the customer; on the contrary, it makes meeting his demands more difficult. The law of supply and demand does not mean an uncontrolled market that operates according to chance.

Continuing to permit such activities outside regulations and at the appointed places will bring shame on those who sell such articles, as well as on their customers. In other words, violations of the law will cease to seem unusual and little by little another unwritten law will take root: profit beyond society's control at all costs. Of course, this must not happen. Citizens who witness such activities therefore condemn them, but they condemn even more strongly the comrades in the responsible authorities, who are not carrying out their duty. The socialist market and the law demand that the regulations should be observed, and that there should be, if necessary, appropriate regulations and special places for selling small sundry goods. Even here, speculators of any kind, who in one way or another buy ready-made goods from the state and have no compunction about selling them at higher prices, must not be allowed. There is no need to protect those who persist in trying to break the law from exposure or the force of the law. Fiscal policy should be meticulous and strict against speculators.

Transportation Official on Expanding Services

AU0608205790 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Leonard Zisi, chairman of the Foreign Relations Branch of the Ministry of Transportation, by Agron Sejamini; place and date not given: "Extending Activity and Transportation Cooperation With Foreign Countries"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sejamini] An increasing number of Albanians are traveling abroad on visits, and more visitors are coming to our country. What new tasks does this lay before you?

[Zisi] In the first half of this year, about twice as many people traveled abroad by plane compared with the same period last year. The Korce-Istanbul bus line which started at the beginning of this year has also expanded. The timetable has been expanded from two trips a month to once a week. The increasing number of visitors and tourists leaving and entering the country has created a need to expand the air and bus passenger transportation service with foreign countries, as well as a need for passenger trains, new sea routes, and so forth. The aim is to have a range of different kinds of transportation, thus enabling the traveler to choose the best.

[Sejamini] We talked about the work of the ministry and "forgot" the work of our transportation enterprises.

[Zisi] Their work is highly significant. Our railroad took part in the proceedings of Assembly of the International Union of Railways (UIC) and the International Rail Transport Committee (CIT). A tariff agreement has also been reached with the Yugoslav and Hungarian railroads which has laid down a preferential tariff for the international rail transportation of our export and import goods. Work is also being done in preparation for the future meeting of the railroad directors of the Balkan countries. Albtransport's work has expanded. Albtransport has now signed various agreements or contracts with airlines or international organizations, such as the Airlines Worldwide Telecommunications and Information Services (SITA), with air control points in neighboring countries, and so forth. Another feature has been technical and economic cooperation with foreign firms which has followed from the agreements and protocols signed with other countries. The aim of this cooperation is to improve the infrastructure of our transportation system. As a result, our pool of passenger and freight rolling stock, trucks, and buses has grown and we are working to acquire experience in the construction and maintenance of railroads, the road network, seaports, and so forth. In the framework of this cooperation, our transportation enterprises are taking their first steps toward producing spare parts and equipment for foreign firms.

Zhelev Discusses Future Policies, Problems

AU0708075390 East Berin DER MORGEN in German 4-5 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by DER MORGEN correspondent Ruska Zagorska in Sofia; date not given: "We Finally Want Democracy!"]

[Text] [Zagorska] You are assuming power at an especially difficult moment. How can the crisis your country is facing be overcome?

[Zhelev] In my speech as a candidate for the president's office, I outlined a program that is intended as the transition to a democratic society based on political pluralism, a free market economy, and all ownership forms and that is connected with a package of measures that are to ensure a minimum of social benefits for weaker stratums. This requires a well-functioning parliament which resolves immediate political and economic reforms, strives for the acceleration of the privatization process, and adheres to all international agreements.

[Zagorska] What roads must Bulgaria's foreign policy take?

[Zhelev] It must be peaceful and it must cultivate good-neighborly relations. Bulgaria has already made a contribution to the East European process, but it must also make a real contribution to the development of the common European home.

[Zagorska] With delegations of your organization (Coordinating Council of the oppositional Union of Democratic Forces) you visited Poland, the CSFR, United Kingdom, and other countries this year. Will the contacts that you established there be helpful?

[Zhelev] Certainly. I am planning to visit several industrial states and to hold high-level talks with representatives to establish even closer contacts and to secure financial and technological aid.

[Zagorska] What political problems in your country must first be solved?

[Zhelev] We are facing a difficult parliamentary road toward democracy which will entail numerous compromises to prevent us from getting to the bottom and being required to work our way up from there. Immediate consultations are required for the formation of a strong government that will solve all problems with parliamentary means. I am striving for a pluralist parliamentary democracy and I will try to implement it as a democrat in my country.

[Zagorska] You are a professor of philosophy. Do you want to remain in politics?

[Zhelev] Certainly not. But I will see to it that the communist state monopoly will be smashed once and for all.

'Radical' BSP Groups Approve Zhelev's Election

AU0708071990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 90 p 2

["Text" of "address of the Coordination Council of the Movement for Radical Change to the members and supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"; place and date not given: "Why Did We Accept a President From the Union of Democratic Forces?"]

[Text] From the very beginning of the Grand National Assembly session, it became evident that the achievement of political consensus over the method of governing and over the participation of the political forces in exercising power is the only sensible path to follow. Naturally, we understand the attitude of numerous Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] members and their reluctance to accept the candidate of the Union of Democratic Forces, attitudes which were accumulated during the election campaign. Nevertheless, under the circumstances of the constitutional and presidential crisis, the lack of parliamentarian consensus about the distribution of basic state responsibilities and institutions, about the nature of the future government, and about mutually acceptable candidates for high-ranking offices threatened to hurl our country into a state of total confrontation, resulting in chaos and unrest, with predictable implications.

The historic moment and the country's future, the future of the nation and the capacity to successfully overcome the total crisis that affects our society require that party interests, sympathies, and dislikes be put aside and be replaced by a lofty sense of responsibility for Bulgaria's future.

We hope that the Bulgarian Socialists will understand the need for compromise and the requirement for conscious and responsible steps toward nationwide cooperation, for which there are no sensible alternatives.

Following the democratic and legal parliamentary elections, our party, in approving the presidential election, showed that it values national peace and prosperity more than narrow-minded party interests; in doing so, the BSP confirmed its real transformation into a parliamentary party which has renounced the monopoly of power. Our party also showed its preference for rallying the forces of democracy and proved that its common sense prevails over the disastrous path of confrontation and distrust.

We are aware of the fact that many of you will hardly approve this choice and will not easily accept it. However, we expect the newly elected president of the republic to be worthy of the lofty historic occasion and we hope that he will have the strength to bear the tremendous responsibility of guaranteeing a multiparty system in Bulgaria during the country's transition to parliamentary democracy.

We expect the president to assist the Grand National Assembly in accomplishing the mission for which it was elected. Civic peace and the peaceful lives of Bulgarian children should be valued above all other things.

The Coordination Council of the BSP Movement for Radical Change (Initiators' Council, Alternative Socialist Association, Demos [Dvichenie za demokratichen sotsializum—Movement for Democratic Socialism], Road to Europe, and the Radical Delegates Club).

Zhelev Speech Meets With United Party Approval

AU0608195990 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Aug (BTA)—In televised statements, spokesmen for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) assessed in positive terms last night's policy speech of President Zhelyu Zhelev.

The Socialist Party representative focused in what he called the president's fruitful idea on cooperation among the political forces and specifically on his suggestion for the establishment of a consultative council of the parties represented in parliament.

The declared intention to abolish privileges and to lift restrictions of residence rights has impressed the SDS spokesman. These steps are in harmony with the SDS intentions and will eliminate features which better fit feudalism than a modern state committed to the rule of law, the opposition spokesman said.

His BZNS counterpart expressed satisfaction with the declared readiness to promote Bulgaria's relations with the USSR but also to assign priority to the country's contacts with the advanced Western states.

Prodev Explains Reasons for Vote Against Zhelev

AU0608205390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by Stefan Prodev, DUMA editor in chief and National Assembly deputy]

[Text] I am obliged to write this article for the sake of a clear conscience. I state to my constituents of the Fourth Veliko Turnovo Multimandate Constituency and to the readers of the daily DUMA that I did not give Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev my vote when he was elected president of the Republic.

I know Zhelyu and have always appreciated some of his positive qualities. I appreciate his active struggle against totalitarianism. He is a man of original ideas, endowed with a creative mind, and who enjoys great public popularity. He is capable of winning the people's affection and impresses them with his modesty. He has achieved considerable successes in his work as a scholar. All these are excellent achievements for an ordinary citizen, but are not enough for a president.

On the other hand, I am convinced that Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev lacks a number of other qualities that are likely to win the people's confidence and make a statesman attractive and authoritative. All this, however, is not relevant in this context, compared with the things that prevented me from voting for him.

Unfortunately, in the months following 10 November 1989, Zhelev increasingly and stubbornly demonstrated a militant extremism, which finally prevailed over his behavior. At rallies and demonstrations, his speeches, far from calming the people, fanned hostile feelings and hatred against all those who did not share the views of the Union of Democratic Forces. His speeches are still inspired by intolerance toward his political opponents today, and this is very disturbing. It is no coincidence that numerous slogans of the election "war" which was waged in the streets during the election campaign were inspired by him and encouraged his supporters in their rude behavior. Even yesterday's speech, which he delivered at the Grand National Assembly, contained some threatening insinuations, which the gentleman himself was to subsequently specify and attenuate.

This intolerance makes me think that, despite my respect for the high-ranking office which Zhelyu Zhelev is already holding, it will be difficult for him to calm the nation and to convince people of his good intentions, but, what is even more important, to rally the nation around a common idea.

The political intolerance I have mentioned is becoming even more alarming, considering Zhelev's unconcealed dislike for the socialist ideas, and for their supporters, in the first place. Many of his statements against socialism and the Socialists are already part of the current political vocabulary. They become particularly intolerable since the Bulgarian Socialist Party's victory in the elections, on which occasion the current president even lost his temper. In this context it is very difficult to imagine that Zhelyu Zhelev might show understanding for the concerns and aspirations of millions of people in our country who have devoted their lives to Socialist ideals. This applies in particular to the present, crucial time for our motherland, when the circumstances require the president to be the "father of the nation."

These are the reasons which prevented me from voting for Mr. Zhelev. I ask him to forgive my frankness, but I could not act otherwise. I wished to be truthful toward myself, but also on his behalf, and above all toward the people who elected me their deputy and who are not indifferent toward my views. Perhaps the circumstances of life may condemn me for being biased, in the near future, but today I am convinced that I have loyally accomplished my duty as a deputy elected by the people.

I ask all those who do not agree with me for their understanding. The future is awaiting us and it will be the only criterion deciding whether I was right or wrong.

Zhelev Appoints New Head of Presidency Office

AU0608153590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] President of the Republic Zhelyu Zhelev issued a decree relieving Evgeni Aleksandrov from his post as

head of the Presidency Office. Ivaylo Trifonov is appointed head of the Office of the Presidency. The head of office is in charge of signing documents related to instructions and orders issued by the president of the republic. He is further responsible for the presidency's administrative activities and for appointing personnel in the Office of the Presidency.

SDS Council Elects New Deputy Chairmen

AU0608181490 Sofia BTA in English
1704 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Aug (BTA)—At its meeting today, the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] elected Mr. Milan Drenchev, the leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian party, and Mr. Filip Dimitrov its deputy chairmen, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, the SDS spokesman, told the BTA.

Mr. Petko Simeonov and the Rev. Khristofor Subev were elected deputy chairmen at the meeting of the Coordinating Council on Friday [3 August].

Sofia 'Town of Truth' Plans Reorganization

AU0608141790 Sofia BTA in English
1227 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Aug 6 (BTA)—As of today, the Town of Truth in Sofia is reorganized and will make use of new forms to push its demands, its inhabitants stated last night in a declaration made in connection with the new political situation in the country created after Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the opposition, was elected president. Assessing this fact as an unprecedented event in the conditions of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's one-party rule, they express the hope that this party could make "other moves of reasonable concessions even without civil pressure."

The foundations of the tent town in the square in front of the buildings of the Presidency and of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party were laid one month ago by a sit-in strike organized by a group of intellectuals who initially insisted on the resignation of the former president, Petur Mladenov. The Bulgarian variant of the "velvet revolution" spread to the other big cities in the country and grew into the "in the name of truth" movement. The towns of truth in Sofia and the other cities came out with demands for revealing the truth about a number of painful problems on a nationwide and local scale.

As it is mentioned in the declaration of the inhabitants of the Town of Truth in the capital, they have been assured by the political forces that their demands will be submitted for discussion to the Grand National Assembly.

In its new variant the Town of Truth in Sofia will become a "guarantee presence of the in the name of truth movement." [sentence as received] The movement will carry out coordinated activity all over the country, building up structures of its own.

In the declaration it is also pointed out that the movement will be ready for "square" actions and if need it be, it will restore the old Town of Truth which this time will be of unlimited size and will organize other forms of civil protest.

Dispatches from the country inform that the towns of truth in Kyustendil, Varna, Burgas and in other places still uphold their demands.

Trade Unions Critical of Government Pricing

AU0608200090 Sofia BTA in English
1747 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Aug (BTA)—Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, again critizised the Socialist government. In the main television newscast the leader of one of the two principal trade union organizations in the country asked why the Government raises the prices before resigning and whether it had consulted on the matter the political forces represented in parliament. Why wages and pensions are not indexed, why the Government implements a double-standard pricing policy: One of declarations and another in practice, why no measures are taken against the black market: These are the other questions which the trade unions ask the Government

Havel Denounces Racism at Romanies Festival

AU0608121790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Aug 90 p 5

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at the first Romanies festival in Brno on 27 July]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The democratic state we are in the process of building must be based on the idea of human rights. This is the only way it can rank among the family of civilized states. Human rights also include the right to equal treatment at the courts, a decent life, and national or ethnic autonomy.

People are not good or bad because they belong to this or that race, to this or that nation. He who does not recognize this fundamental truth is a racist.

There are many different races, nations, ethnic groups, and tribes in the world. They differ in history, religion, traditions, and social habits, and sometimes they differ in their thinking, behavior, and temper. All are humans, however, and are equal before God and, as individuals, they are responsible for their good and bad deeds. They should form one large society, the members of which respect one another while also respecting the differences among them.

During my military service and my imprisonment, I met a lot of excellent as well as many unprincipled people. Many of them helped me and many of them were reporting on me. The dividing line between them went across their nationalities, and it did not depend on their education, either. This experience has only strengthened my disgust for manifestations of any kind of racism.

Unfortunately, such manifestations have appeared in our country lately. Some skinheads have beaten up Romanies, many people despise Vietnamese, and some talk about African people with disrespect. From time to time we can observe nationalist prejudices in the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, between Slovaks and Hungarians, and between Czech and Germans; some time ago someone even tried to glorify a man who used to send Jews and Romanies to their deaths.

In a certain sense, this is a result of the long-term suppression of the autonomy of all the nationalities, which were unable to develop and to find a way to achieve mutual coexistence. This explanation is not enough, however. Above all, racist manifestations are the expression of human smallness, poverty, and various complexes that are compensated for by aggressiveness. This is a manifestation of lazy thinking. Many people make their spiritual life easier by seeing the reasons for all that is bad, including their own bad conscience, in some easily recognizable group of citizens.

The new democratic power in Czechoslovakia is determined to take strong measures against all manifestations of racism. The law that prosecutes it must be enforced. Everyone's national and social autonomy must be honored. I promise that I will fight for this decisively, using all may authority. [passage omitted]

New Stage Seen Opening in Romanian Relations

AU0708083490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar by Jan Fulle in Prague; date not given: "A New Quality to Our Relations"]

[Text] [Fulle] With the exception of a six-year break between 1939-45, we have always maintained diplomatic ties with Romania. On the occasion of their 70th anniversary, how would you characterize the sometimes very different stages in their development?

[Harencar] First, I would like to mention two examples of good relations. One example is the significant role played by Romania in Czechoslovakia's liberation. We also highly appreciate the fact that Romania did not participate in the illegal intervention in Czechoslovakia's affairs by the five Warsaw Pact armies in 1968.

[Fulle] How would you characterize the current level of our mutual relations?

[Harencar] We consider the current level to be satisfactory. The new stage in our relations began to develop when we offered assistance following the overthrow of Ceaucescu's dictatorship. As far as economic cooperation is concerned, the abolition of direct state intervention in economic life and the gradual economic reforms under way in both countries may lead to a temporary decline in cooperation—first and foremost, at the enterprise level—as well as to a curb in trade. Under the new conditions we foresee an expansion of contacts in culture, health care, education, and science, and we also foresee direct contacts between the citizens of both countries. These contacts had been restricted by both former regimes. The CSFR is promised greater possibilities for contacts with the Czech and Slovak ethnic minorities as a result of the new developments in Romania.

Calfa on Venice Meeting, Austrian Energy Plan

AU0708094990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Vladimir Schodelbauer at Ruzyne Airport in Prague on 1 August: "Calfa: Interest!"]

[Text] [Schodelbauer] What was the reaction of the individual countries to Franz Vranitzky's proposal for the establishment of a zone in Central Europe free of nuclear power plants? Did Mr. Vranitzky offer Czechoslovakia specific help should the V-1 blocks at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant be shut down?

[Calfa] Austria's stance in the sphere of nuclear energy policy differs considerably from the other four countries, which all operate nuclear power plants. Our opinion and,

obviously, the opinion expressed by our other partners, is that this is a technical problem. In Austria this issue has very strong moral, social, and—obviously—political overtones. Mr. Vranitzky finally formulated his proposal in such a way that an immediate moratorium is not the issue here; the issue involves the prospective trends in energy policy development. The other participants' reaction was somewhat reserved and, in essence, this issue was not analyzed further. As far as the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant is concerned, Mr. Vranitzky offered energy supplies for the period the reactor is not in use during the independent commission's inquiry. However, our reactor's output is not so great that our other power plants could not substitute for it. A decision on the possible closure of the reactor is in the hands of the independent experts and the government will respect their decision.

[Schodelbauer] What do you consider to be the most important result of your talks?

[Calfa] If I had to give a brief answer, I would say, first, it is the great feeling of belonging to this region and, second, the evident interest and effort shown in cooperating to achieve mutually advantageous results.

Slovak Premier Meets TU Representatives

LD0608205490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] The first meeting between the representatives of the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Confederation of Trade Unions took place in Bratislava today.

Speaking about the government's intentions, Premier Vladimir Meciar noted, among other things, that extensive intervention in the economy of Slovakia could also bring about tension in the social sphere as well as in the fields of ecology and power supply. The social measures aimed at preventing an unfavorable impact of economic reform are still only in the state of preparation, Vladimir Meciar admitted.

Representatives of the trade unions drew the government's attention to the gap between the pace of economic and social reform, and stressed in this context that economic intervention in the structure of our economy leading to unemployment can be carried out only when the priorities in the policy of employment and in the system of requalification are clarified.

Troublesome SRV Workers Slated To Leave Zlin

LD0608212490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Summary] The first group of Vietnamese citizens will leave Zlin tomorrow. Out of more than 800 Vietnamese workers, the management of Svit Zlin [shoe producer] has pinpointed eight workers who continually violated discipline and embezzled shoes—one of them was even branded as an habitual offender—and ensured that their transportation to Vietnam will take place tomorrow. In the meantime, three of them have left Zlin, and their whereabouts are unknown. It is assumed that they illegally crossed our western borders. The air fare to Vietnam is 21,000 korunas, which will be paid by Svit Zlin. Another four Vietnamese expressed their interest in departing, because they were concerned about their future in our country.

It is hoped here that tense interethnic and racial relations will calm down when those who cause such tension leave Zlin tomorrow. It is expected that another large group of Vietnamese workers will leave Zlin at the end of the year on the basis of normal intergovernmental agreements.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

NATO Officials Cited on U.S. Troop Withdrawals

LD0608165590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—NATO Commander in Chief John Galvin anticipates a decision from Washington before the end of August on the locations in the Federal Republic from which U.S. troops are to be withdrawn. Galvin submitted a list of proposals on this to Washington in July, he said on Deutschlandfunk today. Immediately after a decision, there are plans for high-level consultations with Bonn.

General Hans-Wenning von Sandrart, the commander in chief of NATO forces for Central Europe, also spoke on Deutschlandfunk of a strategy of "visible vigilance." A requirement of this is that forces continue to be at hand. At the same time, however, the troops could be thinned out at the intra-German border, the NATO military official said.

Eppelmann on Presence of Soviet Nuclear Weapons

AU0708082990 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 21/90 (signed to press on 30 Jul 90)

[Interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by unidentified HORIZONT reporter; place and date not given: "Need To Act on the Question of Nuclear Arms"]

[Text] [HORIZONT] What is your position on the objective of freeing the territory of a united Germany from all nuclear arms? Do you find it conceivable that such an option might also be conducive to solving the question of the status of Germany in terms of security policy? Are you taking any steps to achieve this objective or are you planning such steps?

[Eppelmann] The GDR Government has a clear concept concerning the objective of freeing the territory of a united Germany from all nuclear arms. It is well known that in his 19 April government declaration, the prime minister stated that the GDR dispenses with the production, sale, possession, and stationing of nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons. A similar declaration should be made by the parliament of a united Germany.

Such a self-limitation, which is binding under international law, would strengthen the determination repeatedly expressed by the GDR and the FRG to do everything to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, and it would be an essential contribution to stability and security in Europe.

In my view such a step would also help to counter all reservations against a united Germany and make the solution of the problems in connection with its military status easier.

I am fully aware of the fact that any war in the center of Europe, and particularly a war that involves nuclear arms, would lead to the destruction of Germany. This is why I think that one of the important objectives of a future united Germany should be to have an ever decreasing number of dangerous weapons systems on its territory and—the earlier the better—to eliminate all nuclear arms that are stationed on German soil.

Starting from this we are trying to make an active contribution to the elimination of nuclear arms. For example, the GDR supports the proposal of the Warsaw Pact states to assume negotiations on reducing tactical nuclear arms in Europe. Therefore, I welcome the fact that at the recent NATO summit meeting in London there were signals that showed the readiness to open talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear arms once the first agreement on the reduction and limitation of conventional armed forces in Europe is concluded.

[HORIZONT] As the minister for disarmament and defense, do you know what nuclear arms the USSR has stationed on GDR territory? If what we are presuming is not the case, do you see any need to act?

[Eppelmann] When I received your question concerning the nuclear arms stationed in the GDR, I recalled your articles in HORIZONT INTERNATIONAL, which deal with this problem.

You have pointed out that the USSR Defense Ministry emphasized the secret nature of these facts and that it therefore refused to pass on any information to you. Now you want me to answer this question. First of all, I have to tell you that the Western Group of USSR Armed Forces is stationed on GDR territory, but that it is not under the command of the National People's Army. This means that the Soviet side only briefs us about all military questions to a degree that is indispensable for the cooperation of the two armies.

As far as the specific question of Soviet nuclear arms stationed on GDR territory is concerned, I can only rely on Western publications that are accessible to us. According to these, the Western Group has a total of about 2,200 delivery systems for nuclear arms. This includes dual-purpose weapons such as artillery systems that can use conventional ammunition as well as nuclear shells. According to the same source, this is somewhat inferior to NATO's arsenals of the corresponding systems stationed on FRG territory. The nuclear delivery systems of the Western Force are land-based missiles, fighter bombers, and artillery systems. All these arms belong to the sphere of tactical weaponry.

Land-based intermediate-range nuclear arms, that is to say missiles with a range of more than 500 km, have been withdrawn in accordance with the INF Treaty.

As far as the nuclear warheads that belong to these nuclear delivery systems are concerned, you must understand that I can neither confirm nor deny their existence here. This is a question that can only be answered by the Soviets.

Concerning the second part of your question, I start from the assumption that currently the most important thing is to create a favorable atmosphere for the two-plus-four talks on regulating the external aspects of the unification of the two German states.

Once these are concluded successfully, the question of nuclear arms and their withdrawal will have to be clarified of course in a new agreement on the stationing and withdrawal of arms with the USSR. In this sense there is a need to act.

Meckel Denies Plan To Dissolve Ministry Early

AU0608124290 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed ADN report: "Foreign Ministry Not To Be Dissolved Before December"]

[Text] East Berlin—Foreign Minister Meckel (Social Democratic Party of Germany) has rejected press reports on Wednesday [1 August] that claim he ordered the dissolution of his ministry's staff. "I have never drafted such a letter," he told journalists.

Just like in other institutions, "service will be terminated by the end of the year" in his ministry. Only some of the employees will receive posts in the joint public service. "We must face the facts. Further talks will have to be conducted on the number of employees who will not be dismissed."

A plan was presented on Wednesday which offers "retraining and transitional programs" to staff members. Meckel stressed that he wants to achieve an optimal solution for his employees. As far as diplomats are concerned, a personnel committee should be established which should determine "who can and should be taken over by an all-German Foreign Ministry."

Unemployment Rate Reaches 3.1 Percent in Jul

LD0708085990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0829 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—At the end of July there were some 272,017 registered unemployed at GDR job centers. That is 129,921 more than in the previous month. The unemployment rate rose to 3.1 percent. There were approximately 656,200 temporary workers. Of the unemployed, 140,481, or 51.6 percent, are women. A further increase in unemployment is expected, State Secretary Horst Kienitz said at a news conference in Berlin today at which he presented the monthly figures. [passage omitted]

Diestel 'Cannot Confirm' Suspicion of Ministers

AU0608133390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed ADN report: "DIE WELT Casts Suspicion on Four GDR Ministers"]

[Text] East Berlin—Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel has stated that he cannot confirm the suspicion expressed by DIE WELT that four GDR ministers worked for the former Stasi state security system. He pointed out his hope that this is a sad rumor. He also demanded that anyone who levels allegations against a politician should furnish evidence to support the allegations. He himself has been "sufficiently examined." It lies within the prime minister's responsibility to clarify this problem. DIE WELT had reported about 40 parliamentarians, including two CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and one SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and Liberal minister each, who had been reported to the People's Chamber Committee investigating possible Stasi activities. During yesterday's government news conference, deputy spokeswoman Angela Merkel also commented on the allegations leveled against the four ministers. She described the rumors as malicious and completely unfounded.

Reported Link Between Poison Gas, Disease Denied

AU0608121590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Rolf Buettner from the Ministry for Disarmament and Defense by Rene Heilig; place and date not given: "Canard Concerning Poison Gas and Poultry"; first paragraph is NEUES DEUTSCHLAND introduction]

[Excerpt] According to a DPA report on Wednesday [1 August], an extraordinary increase in diseases in some villages in Thuringia gave rise to suspicions that a chemical weapons depot exists near Hermsdorf. The news agency quoted a report from the Wednesday edition of the Thuringian daily, TAGESPOST. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reporter Rene Heilig has interviewed Colonel Rolf Buettner, head of Chemical Services in the Ministry for Disarmament and Defense, regarding this report.

[Heilig] Mr. Buettner, you inspected the site. Did you discover any such specter?

[Buettner] Absolutely not! Together with representatives of the New Forum, a member of the Bundestag, a group of People's Chamber deputies, and a member of the German Social Union, I inspected the area near Hermsdorf on 26 July. I give my word that the National People's Army does not have any chemical weapons there. In addition, there is no facility of the Soviet Army in this area that would be suitable as a depot for poison gas. We all shared this conviction.

[Heilig] Do you consider it possible that exercises or tests with war gases were carried out?

[Buettner] No, absolutely not! Of course, we thought about whether or not there might be a grain of truth in this suspicion. Theoretically, two possibilities are conceivable. The fascist army had a huge ammunition depot there. It is theoretically possible that poison gas was also stored there. As is known, there are places in the GDR where such things happened. Thus, we had to have the area of Ammendorf detoxicated. According to the knowledge of our ministry and the Interior Ministry, Hermsdorf does not belong to the sensitive regions.

[Heilig] Do you plan to carry out further investigations?

[Buettner] Yes, of course. A laboratory with the required equipment will travel to the site on 7 August. We will examine all places that the local authorities indicate.

[Heilig] You spoke of two possibilities.

[Buettner] It is also conceivable that plant protectants, pesticides, or disinfectants might give rise to allergies. Thus, employees of the Industrial Fattening Combine might have handled the agents improperly.

[Heilig] Somehow the Industrial Fattening Combine belonged to the former Ministry for State Security, the report claimed.

[Buettner] I have not seen the plant. The former Ministry for State Security probably established a control center there, and the chicken farm was designed to cover up the whole thing. However, one cannot store war gases in such a plant. There is no scientific institute above the plant, as has occasionally been claimed, only a poultry farm.

[Heilig] What about the increase in the incidence of diseases? How would you explain the fact that the military physician of the bezirk's hygiene office diagnosed the symptoms to be those of phosphor and ester poisoning, as usually caused by war gases?

[Buettner] I do not know about a massive increase in diseases. I only know of one couple that does not feel well. War gases would affect many people at the same time. By the way, there is no military physician at the local hygiene office. Thus, if you look more closely, many things turn out to be canards.

[Heilig] Will you again invite Bundeswehr experts to participate in further examinations? These experts have confirmed that no poison gas was discovered in any of the facilities you visited.

[Buettner] I do not know what they should investigate. Inquiries with Dr. Andreas Roth, the responsible head of the Stadtroda Inspectorate for Industrial Hygiene, show with almost complete certainty that the suspicion seems to be a canard. He does not know about any "unusual increase in the incidence of diseases among inhabitants" of the region. According to the physician, it is conceivable that environmental groups fear possible improper handling of formaldehyde at the Hermsdorfer Kreuz broiler and egg production plant. There were reports to this effect in the second half of 1989. However, a protocol dated 8 September 1989 confirms that a proper fumigation was carried out. [passage omitted]

Opposition Members Detected by 'Odor Samples'

AU0608131790 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 6 Aug 90 pp 68, 69

[Unattributed report: "Sniffing Things Out, in the Real Sense of the Word"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin student Susanne Boeden, 21, and her sister Marianne, 12, had just started to distribute their homemade leaflets ("Become active!") against the "ancient, rigid government" of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], when the myrmidons of the law intervened. Plainclothes security men arrested the young women for "denigrating the GDR."

At the Prenzlauer Berg People's Police office, the champions of the change were treated like common criminals; they were questioned for hours, investigators took photographs and fingerprints.

Before Marianne was sent home and her older sister was put into solitary confinement, the two political activists were faced with police treatment of a special kind: For several minutes the sisters had to keep a strip of cloth between their naked thighs.

The reason is hard to believe: The policemen collected odor samples of opposition members for an archive of odors. This method, which is probably unique in the world, was revealed by SPIEGEL TV last Sunday [5 August].

Until the change in November and, perhaps, even after that, criminal investigators and, above all, agents of the omnipotent Ministry of State Security (MfS) were smelling out—certainly in the real sense of the word—hundreds of dissidents.

In nationwide odor depots, the People's Police and the State Security Service hoarded odor samples of criminals and of opposition members, which were kept in airtight and exactly labeled glasses. Specially trained dogs were drilled to finding enemies of the state after smelling the available pieces of cloth. [passage omitted]

Concern Over Trade Ties With Iraq, Kuwait

LD0608171290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] The Ministry of International Economic Relations hopes that the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait will not affect our trade relations with the two countries. A ministry representative said that this is all the more desirable as both states represent very large potential markets. Furthermore, following the decline in trade over several years, this year negotiations have livened up. However, now it is questionable as to when and how we are going to obtain the $145 million that Iraq owes Hungary. The main concern with Kuwait is that there are indications that Kuwaiti investment plans in connection with Hungary have fallen through for the time being.

MTI Reports on Market Effect of Gulf Crisis

LD0608175290 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 6 August 1990 (MTI)—Hungarian traders are confident that the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict would cause but temporary problems in economic ties which showed a boom before the war broke out, said Janos Menyhart, head of department at the Ministry of International Economic Relations. He emphasized that the Hungarian exporters considered both Arab countries markets of great prospects. After some years of decline in the trade turnover, commercial talks and inter-company relations invigorated this year.

Last year Hungarian exports to Iraq amounted to 26 million dollars, way below the record 300 million dollars reached in the early 1980s. The inter-governmental talks held last year, however, raised the hope of an export expansion. The sides concluded an agreement on the repayment of Iraqi debts. Half of the 210,000 tonnes of crude oil Iraq supplied in May reduced the debts of that country by 15 million dollars. It is now uncertain when and how Iraq will repay its debts of 145 million dollars to Hungary. In the aforementioned agreement, Iraq obliged itself to repay all debts by 1996.

Hungary's economic relations with Kuwait kept expanding as well, and Hungary set an export target of 40-45 million dollars for this year. (the record turnover, 50 million dollars, was achieved ten years ago.) The Kuwaiti businessmen are interested in ventures in Hungary: over the past half a year, they held talks with the national oil and gas trust on the foundation of a joint venture, and with Hungarian commercial banks on the establishment of a 100-million-dollar investment fund. Unfortunately, these talks were interrupted by the war. It is also disquieting, Menyhart said, that any war breaking out in the region has an influence on Hungary's economic ties with the other Arab countries, for instance Syria, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

The value of non-performed export contracts with Iraq amounts to 8-10 million dollars, and with Kuwait to 15 million dollars.

It causes some anxiety whether the lorries delivering Hungarian goods to the Gulf will reach their destination, Karoly Kapcsos, deputy general manager of Hungarocamion, told MTI. At present, there are five Hungarian lorries in the region. One of them was unloaded in Kuwait and left the country in the last minute before the war. A refrigerated lorry, carrying meat, was stopped and turned back in Iraq. Another lorry loaded with miscellaneous goods returned from Turkey. For the time being, a single Hungarian lorry is staying in Kuwait. It has been unloaded but no one knows when it can return to Hungary. In Iraq, there are three Hungarian lorries. Two of them are to be unloaded, while the third one is already en route to Turkey.

'Missing' Soviet Oil Deliveries Cause Concern

LD0608151590 Budapest MTI in English 1409 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian Oil and Gas Trust (HOGT) has purchased 280,000 tonnes of mineral oil from Algeria and Libya to make up for part of the missing Soviet deliveries, the company's trade manager Lajos Antal told MTI's correspondent.

He said that one of the three tankers had already arrived at the Yugoslavian port, from where the oil will be forwarded to Hungary via the Adriatic pipeline.

The price of the oil will be fixed according to the world market price in the forthcoming days. The $41 million earmarked by the Hungarian Government for the purpose in late July will probably be insufficient, because since then the price of oil per barrel has risen from $18 to 19 to around $24.

In July, the Soviet Union delivered to Hungary 386,000 tonnes of oil, 30 per cent short of the planned 546,000 tonnes. The August quantity will not be more than 386,000 tonnes either, the HOGT trade manager said.

Economic Official, Soviets Discuss Ongoing Ties

LD0608200990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] The president of the Hungarian Economic Chamber flew to Moscow and had discussions with his Soviet counterpart. Gyorgy Toth conducted a telephone interview with Dr. Lajos Tolnay, who is now on holiday.

[Begin recording] [Toth] We are living in a time of rather uncertain relations between the two countries, not to mention the future of our own enterprises. Under such circumtances, what can you discuss of mutual use and mutual interest?

[Tolnay] Obviously expert negotiations about the change to dollar accounting are going on, but those conditions which already existed between the two countries—knowledge of each other, know-how in trading with each other, the already established personal official contacts, and geographic proximity—make the formulation of relations at a new level after the change to dollar

accounting even more justified. Therefore, the chambers could help in building these contacts between enterprises. The bridging role which we have been advocating in Hungary for about 20 years, but could never establish, primarily because of the currency accounting problems, could become a reality after 1991; for this we need to receive and provide information.

I think this visit was significant, especially during this period when uncertainty is prevalent.

We could definitely conclude that, in spite of the Western invasion, the Soviet partner is interested in retaining its Hungarian contacts. [end recording]

French Envoy Queried on Bilateral Relations

AU0708105690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Aug 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with French Ambassador to Hungary Pierre Brochand by Attila Seres in Budapest; date not given: "Paris Has Noticed Us"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Analyzing the differences in the focus of Hungarian foreign policy, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall spoke recently about Hungary's relations with France with particular emphasis—relations that are meant to counterbalance the German orientation. Our correspondent called on Pierre Brochand and asked him about the French reactions to Hungarian intentions.

[Seres] How does France evaluate the changes in East Europe and to what extent have the recent events modified the French policy toward East Europe?

[Brochand] The French Government thinks extremely highly of the changes in East Europe, the restoration of democracy and national sovereignty in the area, and the efforts to create a market economy. Although these countries must face short-term problems, the process as a whole is worth our appreciation and could contribute to a situation in which the countries of eastern Central Europe, including Hungary, will find their way back into the family of European nations—a family from which they were separated artificially. [passage omitted]

[Seres] In the course of its history, Hungary has mainly belonged to the German sphere of interest. Although some of our best people "cast their eyes at Paris," the French showed little interest in Hungarians in the past. Can we expect some change in this attitude?

[Brochand] I can only partially agree with the way you phrased this question, because it is obvious that, in certain areas, French-Hungarian relations have always been very good. I refer here primarily to the close contacts between our intellectuals and artists; the everyday people have never been foreign to each other either, due to certain physical and spiritual similarities. However, I cannot deny the fact that neither our political relations nor our economic relations reached the expected level in the past, and our limited interest also played a role in this.

Our political relations have been rather uneven, and we are now happy to see our relations at the "crest of the wave" again. In the course of his recent visit in Paris, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said that our relations have never been at such a high level, and I agree with him. [passage omitted]

[Seres] Romania played a privileged role in past French policy toward East Europe. Will this continue in the future?

[Brochand] As the French ambassador in Budapest, I am not quite competent to judge this, but I firmly question the possibility that the expression you have used was also valid for the Ceausescu dictatorship. As for Hungary, it clearly transpires from what has been said so far that Paris wants to give Budapest a role that it deserves in today's Europe and in a future Europe.

[Seres] Many people worry that, following the ideological division of the past era, the national minority issue will cause a crisis in Europe this time. What is the view in Paris on the fate and rights of national minorities?

[Brochand] The French opinion about this—and our own traditions also justify this—is that respect for human rights is a basic issue. There will be neither peace nor stability in a place where this principle is violated. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Airs Future Army Issues

LD0608150790 Budapest MTI in English 1417 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 6 August 1990 (MTI)—"As far as the leadership of the Ministry of Defence is concerned the Hungarian Army should be given a distinctively national character and adapted to serve exclusively national interests," Erno Raffay, political secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence, told journalists on Friday. [3 August]

The armed forces will be developed in the spirit of "sufficient defence," on the basic principle that their national character should in no way violate the interests of neighbouring countries, Raffay said.

He also pointed out that efforts to strengthen the national character would be manifest in the training of professional and regular soldiers, the education of recruits, the naming of regiments, as well in uniforms and insignias. It will take several years to carry out this programme depending on the financial capabilities of the Hungarian Army, Raffay added.

Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsics, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, informed the press about plans to abolish the institution of the so-called "education and socio-political officers" and to let the responsibility for the new spirit of military education pass under the commanding officer's sphere of influence. All of the affected 900 officers

will be offered a new post. Without intending to pursuade anybody to leave the army, the Ministry of Defence expects that many of them will choose to leave the army. During the first six months of 1990, 2,600 career officers applied for their discharge, and the number is likely to exceed 3,000 by the end of the year. (the army has a staff of 25,000 officers, aged 37 on average, of which 80 per cent are college or university graduates.)

Under a relevant three-year programme worked out by the former government, the total army strength will be reduced from 127,000 to 90,000 by late 1992. There wil be 75,000 active soldiers, including 51,000 doing military service. The number of civilians will drop from 20,000 to 15,000.

The chief of staff said that by the end of August rank [as received] the call-up time for those doing military service will already have been reduced to 12 months.

Journalists were told that half of the 60 Hungarian airports were still controlled by Soviet troops. The decision on the future ownership of these airports after the conclusion of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, scheduled for June 30, 1991, will be taken jointly by the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications and the Air Traffic and Airport Directorate.

Army To Be Reduced 30 Percent by 1992

LD0608150290 Budapest MTI in English 1355 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Numbers in the Hungarian Army are to be cut by 30 percent by the end of 1992, which means the country will have only 70,000 soldiers by that time, as compared to the 106,000 at present.

This year, 3,000 career officers will resign their commissions in the hope of securing better pay in civvy street. The number originally planned was half that figure.

Currently, an officer in the Hungarian Army makes 22,750 forints gross ($350) a month. True, the sum is twice the average monthly salary in Hungary, but officers could make far more in civilian occupations corresponding to their qualifications.

Simultaneously with the cut in troops, the army will be selling off barracks, aerodromes and shooting-ranges.

The book value of military installations in Hungary is 180 billion forints ($2.7 billion), and the army expects to sell 20 per cent of them for 36 billion forints.

This year, the army is getting 35 billion forints ($540 million) from the state budget. This sum will certainly dwindle next year in view of inflation running at 25-30 per cent.

The army intends spending the income from the sale of property on the repair and maintenance of army buildings.

While last year they had 14 million forints a day for maintenance, this year, the sum has ebbed to 9 million forints ($140,000) a day.

Agricultural Exports Up; Subsidies Down

LD0608151290 Budapest MTI in English 1344 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 6, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government had planned farm and food exports to be in the region of $1.65 billion this year, but current trends would indicate that exports will be at least 30 per cent over the target. In spite of the increase in exports, the government does not intend raising the subsidy of 20 billion forints ($308 million) it originally earmarked for exports, for fear that the sum will be too much of a burden on the state budget. Since at least 4 billion forints ($61 million) extra subsidy would be required, farms will, in practice, get 30-40 per cent less in export subsidies.

Agricultural experts say the increase in agricultural exports is due partly to the fact that the shrinking Comecon market has forced exporters to seek alternative outlets in the West: they have actually succeeded in boosting prices on some markets.

For example, East German companies have cancelled contracts for Hungarian wine exports, incurring an 8 percent penalty. The Soviet Union, too, is buying less poultry and grain. Hungarian exporters have to re-route all these commodities to Western destinations. Since practically every farm is free to export its own products, though, more efficient market work has yielded them up to a 30 percent rise in prices on some markets.

Also, there are far more small sundry agricultural articles on the export list. While in the mid-1980s such items fetched only two to three million dollars a year, the income from them is expected to be around $600 million this year.

Experts estimate that agricultural exports will amount to $1.9 billion this year. The Ministry of Agriculture says cooperatives will go for exports even if shrinking subsidies mean making smaller profits: This option is still more profitable for them than selling on the domestic market. It is believed that it will take another few years before the right proportions between exports and domestic sales develop.

The new bill on farmland currently in the pipeline will virtually restore the pre-1947 land ownership relations, something which, some observers fear, might shatter large agricultural enterprises.

Poles in Kuwait Said Safe; No Supply Problems

LD0708110790 Warsaw PAP in English 1041 GMT 7 Aug 90

["Poles Are Safe and Sound in Kuwait"—PAP headline]

[Text] Kuwait, 7 Aug—The Polish Embassy here said that all Poles staying in the territories affected by the Iraqi invasion in these difficult days were sound and in good psychical condition.

Employees of Polish companies can move freely around Kuwait and there are no problems with the supplies of the most important products.

Ambiguities of Soviet Troop Withdrawals Reported

AU0608115390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Aug 90 p 2

["Fed"-signed report: "Soviet Troops in Poland—Unexpected Switches of Locations"]

[Text] The process of withdrawing Soviet Troops from Poland looks somewhat chaotic. The total number of soldiers who are scheduled to leave our country is only known in a very approximate form, and information which is issued on this subject is inaccurate. Very often, troops are not withdrawn, but merely change their place of stationing.

The Soviet fighter regiment stationed in Brzeg (Opole Voivodship) is being disbanded. One squadron will leave for the Soviet Union, and two will be relocated, stated General Mieczyslaw Debicki, Polish government plenipotentiary for Soviet troops stationed in Poland, on 2 August 1990.

The information issued by the office of the plenipotentiary in mid-July on the withdrawal of the air regiment from Kolobrzeg was incorrect, he admitted. In fact, the Kolobrzeg air regiment had not been withdrawn but was amalgamated in June 1989 with the Brzeg air defense regiment. Its place was taken by two squadrons of heavy helicopters. Brzeg is now the base for all light helicopter squadrons.

A battalion of engineers in Torun is being withdrawn to the Soviet Union along with its equipment, ammunition, and stores.

There is still controversy about where the headquarters of the Northern Army Group of Soviet Forces ultimately will be located. Residents of Swidnica are in favor of transferring it to Legnica. If this were to happen, Swidnica would gain some 1,000 dwellings, 20 barracks, two hospitals, two sports complexes, a school, and a kindergarten. However, the Legnica authorities are strongly against this solution, saying that such an increase in military personnel will swamp the city.

General Debicki believes that due to the relocations, two main effects have been achieved. First, the number of Soviet garrisons in Poland has been reduced, and second, the nuisance caused by the stationed troops has been significantly reduced (the planes no longer break the sound barrier over Kolobrzeg or Brzeg).

Officially, there are 34 Soviet garrisons, and, at the beginning of this year, there were 58,000 Soviet troops in Poland. By the end of this year this number will drop to 48,000 or 42,000, nobody seems to have precise details.

Soviet units are being withdrawn, renamed, or regrouped. The reduced number of troops will only be known at the end of 1990. A detailed timetable of troop withdrawals will only be available early next year.

The office of the plenipotentiary informed us that very soon there are to be imminent talks on the withdrawal of a fighter regiment (Su-23's) from Szprotawa.

Environmental Agents Denied Entry to Soviet Unit

LD0708025990 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Szczecin, 6 Aug—Five inspectors of the Environment Protection Department of the Szczecin Provincial Office were not allowed to enter the premises of Soviet Army units in the Szczecin Province, Director of the Department Norbert Maliszewski told PAP.

According to settlements made at a meeting several months ago between the Szczecin provincial governor and the plenipotentiaries of the Polish and the Soviet governments for Soviet troops in Poland three units stationed in this province were to be visited by those inspectors with a view to finding the degree of environmental threats in the area and possibly quickly taking protection activities. Also, the costs of the devastation of environment and payments for the use of the area by Soviet units were to be settled.

Those units' commanders' refusal to let in the Polish inspectors was explained by some special decisions that allegedly have been made in this respect.

Defense Ministry's Komorowski on Army Position

AU0608130490 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 31 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Bronislaw Komorowski by Irena Baczynska; place and date not given: "The Meeting With the Prime Minister Has Helped the Army"]

[Text] [Baczynska] Mr. Minister, you have said on several occasions that you support the idea of an army whose strength is not only derived from modern technology, but also from fortitude and, above all, a strong, vital bond with the nation. Please forgive me for saying so, but for many people it is a vision, an ideal that is still a long way off for our Army. After all, we know that the legacy of the past includes a decline in the prestige of the

military and a negative attitude toward the Armed Forces and defense matters on the part of a significant segment of society.

[Komorowski] I fully realize that the military must recover its place in the nation. In the past it was part of the system and, at the same time, a guardian of that system. It looked after the political and other interests of the ruling party and was often identified with that party. The Army is paying a high price for that now. Part of that price is, above all, a serious weakening of its natural bond with society. However, if I did not believe in the Army's ability to meet the challenges of these new times and to find its place in the changes that are taking place in our country, then I definitely would not have agreed to take up the post of deputy minister of national defense.

[Baczynska] What is the source of your faith and conviction?

[Komorowski] I am a historian by training which gives me the benefit of being able to view certain phenomena with a certain detachment—to perceive continuity in processes, regardless of whether they occur in an evolutionary or a revolutionary manner. The military always was an extremely important motivating force in our history and the engine of historic changes. In my mind, today's Polish Army, and this is something that society must come to believe, must be the same army that fought against the partitioning powers for the cause of independence, that made a significant contribution to the recovery of independence, that heroically defended that independence in 1920 and 1939, and fought valiantly on all fronts during World War II.

[Baczynska] What about today? Can you say with complete conviction that the Army has discarded those bad, alien patterns and functions that were imposed on it?

[Komorowski] It definitely has, if one thinks of the Army as an institution. However, the Army is also a special collective social body; it is not uniform, and it consists of people above all. I will anticipate your question, because I know that what interests society the most is the extent to which the mentality of people in uniform has changed; whether the processes of change that are supposed to give the Army a completely new appearance are encountering resistance; whether the situation in the Army is favorable to change. I believe that, among young personnel and a significant section of career personnel who have several years of service behind them, there is a very strong desire for change and a readiness to see a truly profound reform of the Army. That is how things stand in general. However, there are always misgivings. An appreciation of the necessity of change does not rule out the possibility of fearing for one's own future. We are aware of these problems, and we are trying to deal with them, to find new solutions.

[Baczynska] Mr. Minister, Prime Minister Mazowiecki's meeting with senior Armed Forces personnel aroused a lot of interest in the Army and, as far as I know, in areas other than the Army. It is being extensively commented on, especially among personnel. It is being said that such a meeting was needed and that it had been desired for a long time. There have been complaints to the effect that it should have taken place earlier; some people are now even interpreting the meeting itself as an attempt on the part of the government to find an ally in the Army.

[Komorowski] That interpretation is completely wrong. The purpose of the meeting was clear and it determined the timing of the prime minster's meeting with senior personnel. I would like to indicate four key elements: First, the Army needed time to deal with, and cleanse itself of, the bad—as you yourself called it—legacy of the past. Only concrete decisions and, above all, actions could enable us to reject the charge—one that was widespread until not long ago—that changes in the Army had been purely "cosmetic," and to demonstrate that the Army had embarked on a path of profound reorganization not only in terms of structure, organization, and personnel, but also in terms of mentality. This process of change only assumed a new, more rapid pace in the second half of April. So we, the Army, had to be prepared for a meeting with the prime minister that would not just see the presentation of a list of our intentions, but would be one at which we could at least put forth our initial achievements. Second, the meeting helped—I firmly believe this—the Army above all. We obtained approval for our actions and the course of further changes. I surely do not have to convince anyone how extremely important and satisfying Tadeusz Mazowiecki's words "our great peaceful change owes much to the attitude of the Army" were for every soldier. After all, they came from a man who heads a government whose roots are in "Solidarity," a man who enjoys great respect, prestige, and sympathy in society. This is what makes us hope that the Army will now quickly regain public confidence and credibility.

Third, there has now been a clear and concrete exposition of the government's line on the affairs of the military viewed as a national army and its role in the construction of a sovereign parliamentary democracy. Defense tasks stemming from new external conditions, especially from Poland's changing geopolitical situation, were also clearly formulated. Fourth, the prime minister indicated those areas of military life which require rapid improvements. We are aware that the bond between the Army and society is also shaped by those who are completing military service. Their impressions, their good and bad experiences, are communicated to mothers, fathers, and friends and shape the public's image of the Army. That is why consistent, effective action really has to be taken against irregularities in interpersonal relations in the Army. This is a task for all of us—for commanders, but also for officers and education service employees.

[Baczynska] One of things the prime minister said was that the military must undergo profound changes regarding education. Would you care to comment in greater detail on this issue?

[Komorowski] It is as if Tadeusz Mazowiecki used his authority to approve what has been accomplished in the Army thus far. I am thinking of the complete elimination of

the remnants of the Main Political Administration's structures and the appearance of a completely new nonparty educational service in the Polish Army. The first stage is already behind us. Currently, as a result of the changes and reorganization efforts that have been instituted thus far, about 90 percent of education officers work directly with basic service soldiers and only 10 percent belong to senior personnel. In reformulating the philosophy behind the activities of the education service, we abandoned institutional solutions, because they will not determine their prestige in the community. We have proceeded from the assumption that the standing of the educational officer, the recovery of his public and professional credibility depends solely on the effectiveness of what he does—on tough, day-to-day work, on real concern for every soldier in each unit. The education officer, subordinated to his commander and carrying out orders and tasks assigned by that commander, must seek support and social approval by being competent and efficient.

[Baczynska] Mr. Minister, I am going to be stubborn and repeat that the image you have outlined can be considered idealistic. Are these just theoretical principles—very noble ones, incidentally—or are they already being put into practice? Some people, former political officers, have left the Army, but the majority have remained. They, after all, form the core of the new education service.

[Komorowski] You are wrong, but that is a good thing, because it gives me an opportunity to set things straight. Almost 80 percent of the officers appointed to senior posts in the education service are new and come from the command corps or other special units. Apart from that, about 60 percent of the posts in the service are to be filled by civilians. We are seeking to recruit people for employment in military units from psychologists, sociologists, and teachers. It is too early to speak of results, because we are still working on projects and solutions, the results of which will only become apparent later. However, we can already say that we have obtained a structural identity for a new education service, which differs fundamentally from the party-political structure.

[Baczynska] I understand that the structural changes in the education service are being accompanied by profound changes in the way which soldiers are influenced.

[Komorowski] I would be wary of using the word "influence," because it has negative associations with the past; the word may be associated with previous bad practices, when influencing often simply meant manipulating, intrusive persuasion, or even indoctrination. Our objective is to make education in the Armed Forces part of the education process in a democratic state. What I have in mind is, above all, civic and cultural education based on military tradition and the national heritage, but I am also thinking of the growing role of military chaplains in educational work. It is only through common action that we can boost the strength of the Army and restore its authority and links with society. Our work is solely that of educating the soldier as a patriot, who is aware of his tasks and duties in serving in the military, and is ready to make all possible sacrifices to defend the sovereignty and independence of the fatherland.

Center Accord Said Bidding for Warsaw Daily

AU0608104790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2 Aug 90 p 1

["tur"-signed report: "The General Attraction Towards EXPRESS WIECZORNY"]

[Text] Will the well-known Warsaw evening paper EXPRESS WIECZORNY become the Central Accord's party paper?

That was the two-line rumor reported in RZECZPOSPOLITA yesterday. It stated that Slawomir Siwek, former head of the TYGODNIK ROLNIKOW SOLIDARNOSC and a member of Central Accord, was reported to be the new editor in chief.

We have been able to find out that on 27 July the Liquidation Commission of the Workers' Publishing Cooperative [RSW] received a bid from the "Solidarity" Press Foundation to purchase EXPRESS WIECZORNY or SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

The chairman of the Foundation is Slawomir Siwek, while Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski (editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and leader of Center Accord) and deputy Maria Stolzman (chairman of the Foundation to Provide Water to the Villages), are members of its Executive Board. Krzysztof Czabanski, Maciej Zalewski (both from TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and Center Accord), and Boguslaw Heba (director of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC publishing) are also among the Foundation's members.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski told us that it was not true that the Center Accord wanted to take over EXPRESS WIECZORNY. The Foundation did not want to turn it into a party paper. He stressed that the Foundation was more interested in SZTANDAR MLODYCH, but it appears that this paper has a very large deficit.

Andrzej Bunn, EXPRESS WIECZORNY editor, has stated that he and his editorial staff were informed by the Liquidation Commission that the Foundation was interested in acquiring the paper. On Wednesday, 1 August, a meeting took place between Bunn and Kaczynski. Kaczynski assured Bunn that no change of publishing team was anticipated, cooperation was to be partner-like, the present editor in chief would be retained, and Slawomir Siwek would only be appointed the paper's director.

In accordance with Article 6 of the Law Liquidating the RSW, any citizen or company of the Polish Republic can tender a bid for any paper that the RSW Liquidating Commission puts up for sale. Before any such sale can take place, however, the Commission must consider any buy-out proposals from the employees of the paper in question. Only when such an employee proposal is seen

not to guarantee the independent existence and development of the paper can the Liquidation Commission invite outside tenders.

The following have submitted tenders for the paper: the EXPRESS WIECZORNY employee cooperative (98 employees); the press group that includes TOP, PRZEGLAD SPORTOWY, and PAN; Pewex; and the Supreme Council of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS], namely, the party run by Lipski (It was the PPS which founded the EXPRESS WIECZORNY in 1946). We tried to get the full list of bidders from the Liquidation Commission, but apparently the contents of the list are a secret.

In April 1990, EXPRESS WIECZORNY made 133 million zlotys profit, and in May the profit was 872 million zlotys.

Opinion Poll on Scheduling of National Elections

LD0608170790 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Aug—As many as 40 percent [of the] Poles came out in favour of early parliamentary elections to be held in Poland still this year in a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Polling Centre (CBOS) between July 12 and 15, this being a big rise in comparison to 25.1 percent opting for this last April.

A total of 36.7 percent of the sample opted for holding elections next year while 23.3 percent did not have opinion on this issue. In April's poll the respective figures were 35.1 percent and 39.3 percent.

Over four fifths of the polled Poles (80.8 percent) wanted presidential elections to be general. According to 14 percent the president should be elected by a new parliament formed in democratic elections. The concept of electing the president by the present national assembly was supported by the smallest number of the polled (2.5 percent).

Ex-Security Personnel Defend 'Employee Rights'

AU0708101390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Aug 90 p 2

[Waldemar Szymczuk report: "The Association of Former Secret Agents"]

[Text] Former Security Service [SB] functionaries in Katowice, who were rejected by the Vetting Commission, organized a meeting on 1 August at which they decided to form an Association of Former Internal Ministry Employees. Some 100 people came to the meeting, which was held at the Voivodship Police Headquarters.

We do not want a political destabilization of the country, and we are only defending our employee rights, stated Lieutenant Marek Kaczmarczyk, former functionary of the SB's Fourth Department. The investigation was a travesty of justice and was reminiscent of a closed court. The dismissal notices we received did not give any reasons why we were considered unfit to continue working in the ministry.

The statute of the association provides for material assistance to association members, help with finding work, and organization of future meetings.

The deputy voivodship commander in Katowice, Captain Andrzej Wierzbicki, stated: "At present we do not have any details. The association has a semi-clandestine character. From what we do know, the association is being masterminded by the former deputy chief training officer, Major Nowakowski. We have not been approached by these people."

The first steps were taken by former security personnel in the Tarnow voivodship who were rejected by their local vetting commission. The commission rejected some 72 percent of the 202 people it investigated. The former functionaries called the outcome an act of revenge and a gross injustice.

ADEVARUL Condemns Invasion of Kuwait

AU0708074390 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 4 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Dumitru Tinu article: "Attention, Inflammable"]

[Text] For several weeks, war has been hanging in the oil-imbued air of the Arab-Persian Gulf (the "Gulf" as the mass media—and not only ours—came to name this region for political considerations, no matter how illogical they might be). The number of accusations, warnings, and threats have boiled over and the divisions of armored vehicles, well seasoned during the long, drawn-out war of attrition in the desert, have been quartered for much too long.

This time, the source of conflict was oil, this precious liquid, which, for the time being, is indispensable to modern civilization, but not because reserves were at the point of exhaustion. Previous oil crises, whose impact was so dramatically felt by states without "black gold" resources, showed that there are parties greatly interested in periodically provoking such shocks, without any direct connection to the level of existing reserves.

The fact is that during the night of 2 August, the massive Iraqi Army invaded the minuscule Emirate of Kuwait, the lamb which muddied the downstream, not upstream, water—the subterranean water with metal radiance. As a matter of fact, this was the first motive invoked by Baghdad: that Kuwait had allegedly "siphoned off" oil from the Iraqi underground. The second motive is the oil policy promoted by Kuwait, which, by not reducing its extraction quotas, has favored the maintenance of oil prices within reasonable limits. As for the completely unoriginal explanation offered after the fact, that the entry of Iraqi troops in the Emirate was "at the request of the new revolutionary Kuwaiti Government," it is obviously unacceptable, simply because anyone can invoke such a request, anytime and anywhere. Neither the UN Charter, nor any other international document makes reference to such a claim, not even an incriminating one, as it defies and exceeds the framework of relations among states.

This also explains the consensus of worldwide disapproval and condemnation of the aggression against Kuwait. The UN Security Council which met in urgent session unanimously condemned—which is a pretty rare thing—Iraq's armed action.

It is true that a simple condemnation of such a serious act cannot lead to a solution. Neither can the simple movement of some military vessels from one sea into another, closer to the area of conflict, bring about an end to it. However, the attitude of the international community has an immense moral value, because today, the international judgment of his actions cannot be ignored.

What is currently happening in the Arab-Persian Gulf is not a mere problem of the states involved in the conflict and of the countries of the region. The years of the Iraqi-Iranian war have given enough examples of the indivisible character of peace. How often was overall peace jeopardized by the incorrect range of missiles or by mistaking oil tankers for war ships! The Gulf area is a most sensible one par excellence. Oil tankers belonging to scores of nations sail through the Straits of Ormuz. Moreover, the area also contains parts of the minefield network in the Middle East.

Consequently, the decisionmaking factors in that region should bear the kind of responsibility that depends upon the existing potential for danger. Attempts to use force, wherever they took place, particularly in the Near and Middle East, have never led to the resolution of problems. On the contrary, they only exacerbated them. In our times, the only rational possibility is negotiations. Attention, oil is inflammable!

Illiescu on Development of Democracy, Recent Events

NC0608195790 Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 5 Aug 90 p 20

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Stilianos Kouloglou in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] [Kouloglou] Almost a month has passed since your victory in the May elections, and while everything seemed to indicate that Romania was moving toward democracy, the incidents in University Square raised some serious questions in international circles about the future of your country. Is there a chance that Romania will return to autocratic or dictatorial rule?

[Iliescu] There is no evidence to lead to that conclusion. On the contrary, after the elections, steps were taken to develop democratic laws. Parliament has begun its work, opposition parties are working in parliament, and the senate, the government has presented its policy, and we have laid the foundations for an independent judiciary with the election of the Supreme Court members.

However, there are forces trying to obstruct this course. These same forces, during the period of the temporary government (which was formed in December until the May elections), repeatedly tried to strike blows, destroying the seat of government on 26 February. They are the same ones who occupied University Square with destabilization as their goal. When the parliament started its sessions and was preparing to elect its president on 13 June, these forces organized incidents. They hit the police headquarters, the Ministry of the Interior, and the television [station], using typically fascist methods.

These forces, who are most certainly being financed both internally and from abroad, are not allowing us to live peacefully. There will always be excuses, because there are problems and reasons for discontent. We have difficult years ahead of us, and that is why, as we have already stated, we want national reconciliation. Romanian society is a sick and it is going through a deep and multifaceted crisis. Despite party intentions, national interest urges us to unite all our forces in order to treat our sick society.

[Kouloglou] Those who attacked buildings may have done something illegal, but this is a case for the police. The call for one section of the people to go against another cannot be found in democratic regimes. It reminds one of a communist understanding of the good working class and the evil intellectual people.

[Iliescu] That is because we are not a normal society. The Army and the police have an inferiority complex [preceding word in English] because of the position they took in December. They do not have the authority to deal with certain demonstrators because such actions would recall different kinds of past intervention. This is what the extremists exploit, who know that the Army and the police will not react no matter what happens. Then the people themselves are obliged to defend everything they have gained and their democratic institutions.

Unfortunately, violence begets violence. I do not approve of the miners' excesses, but these were caused by others before. We cannot accuse those who voluntarily defend democratic conquests, when it should have been done by the security forces. But if someone cannot understand the moral crisis of the society, he can never understand the June incidents.

It is sad that political forces and the press do not support the power which the new Romanian democracy is trying to promote. On the contrary, they qualitatively support minorities, who use violence against those elected by the people.

[Kouloglou] The difference is that the miners did not arrive spontaneously as you say; you called on them to come. And something more. Some Romanian friends of mine who learned that I was going to speak with you asked me to ask you why not a single miner who broke the law was arrested.

[Iliescu] In order for the miners to arrive in Bucharest on the morning of 14 June, they would have had to have started at 1900 the previous night, at the latest. I had not spoken on television yet; I spoke much later. After the television was smashed, the broadcast was interrupted and the people who wanted to watch the World Cup were very upset. When I spoke on television, the miners had already started coming. It was not only the miners who came, but workers and intellectuals from Bucharest, because those who attacked the buildings were not intellectuals, but the scum of society, most of them unemployed and pawns of extremists.

The incidents left six dead, and all of them were killed on 13 June; no one died because of the miners' actions. The international press is not informed if they support the opposition. The miners came to clear University Square of burned cars and to assist in restoring traffic. Then they tended the flower beds around the square.

[Kouloglou] After the coal miners came out, the offices and newspapers of the opposition parties were destroyed and the people became afraid. All this is no good for democracy....

[Iliescu] Even societies such as the British face problems of violence, street fighting, and attacks against police. However, nobody wonders about the fate of democracy in Great Britain. Something similar happens in Romania, which is taking its first steps, and the whole world begins to worry about the fate of democracy. Moreover, all those who are now interested in democracy in Romania are the very ones who not only did not say a word against Ceausescu, but actually praised him for his anti-Soviet stance. This is hard, but it is the truth and needs to be said....

[Kouloglou] It is not only the world press which criticized the Romanian Government. Because of the case of student Marian Monteanu (student leader whose arrest during the incidents was followed by national demonstrations demanding his release), Silviu Brucan, one of your close associates over the past few months and a leading figure in the National Salvation Front, just said that "in a democratic regime, a person is not held in detention for a month without evidence of his possible guilt being produced."

[Iliescu] No one is held in prison without evidence. I do not want to interfere in the judicial process, but the prosecutor made lengthy statements about those who are detained. Out of 1,000 people arrested during the incidents, 180 are still in detention and there is incriminating evidence against them. Monteanu is one these 180 and he is the only student in detention.

His fellow students brought me a video cassette which they recorded themselves on the afternoon of 13 June in order to prove that Monteanu was not guilty. Actually, however, the cassette proves that he called on the demonstrators to attack police offices to release some students who had allegedly been arrested.

[Kouloglou] Where is Romania heading seven months after the December revolution? Is it heading toward socialism, capitalism, a special type of democracy?

[Iliescu] I do not want to use old formulas. The next stage will determine the social and economic structures of Romania, but the one thing that is certain is that we have detached ourselves from the totalitarian system, which was called socialism but had nothing in common with the theory of socialism. However, we want to get rid of the stereotypes and formulas and apply the theory of political realism.

We will start from the Romanian reality to find the paths that will ensure the country's economic and social progress while also considering all the proposals which the contemporary development of societies may offer. On the basis of scientific and technological developments, we want to secure the promotion of capable people and the development of the people's initiative and inventiveness.

In the economic field, we want to destroy this terrible central bureaucratic structure and the mechanisms of the administrative management of the economy and create the prerequisites for the functioning of economic laws in

accordance with the market economy, which characterizes modern societies and gives the necessary vigor to economic life. At the same time, we will adopt certain adjustments to protect the broad masses since the market economy might aggravate social differences and polarize society. We will also take into consideration the experience of other countries and the social democractic programs, which are being implemented in almost half the countries in the world.

[Kouloglou] If I understand it right, you favor socialism with a human face.

[Iliescu] That is an obsolete formula because it aims at putting a good face on a system which has been degraded. We have demolished this system. We want a modern society based on modern economic, scientific, and social achievements. For instance, Sweden is not an example of socialism with a human face but a developed capitalist country which has found the way to make certain social adjustments. Such measures of social security exist in many countries such as West Germany, France, Italy, and even in the United States.

[Kouloglou] The day after the Romanian elections and despite your triumphant victory, many people maintained that your country's problems were so great that in some way you were a transitional president who would be crushed by the problems and that in a sense you were sacrificing your career. Is this how you feel?

[Iliescu] Everybody is transitional in a democratic system. As far as self-sacrifice goes, I said myself that the moment circumstances led me to take the leadership of the National Salvation Front in December. I said then that undertaking responsibility in a society with such a profound political, economic, social, and moral crisis was a sort of suicide for a politician. However, someone had to assume this responsibility.

[Kouloglou] You have remained a popular politician but, at the same time, an enigmatic figure. You know, the Greek public was very sensitive during the Romanian revolution and was shocked when it later learned that that the number of dead was not 70,000 and that the Timisoara graves were a fabrication. So many people concluded that what happened in December was not a revolution but a plan prepared in advance in which you participated.

[Iliescu] That is two questions. At the time, the situation in the country was so unclear that no one knew anything. There was shooting here in Bucharest for four or five days, day and night. Reports from Timisoara spoke of 10,000 dead. So, when on 25 December Ceausescu was accused of responsibility for the death of 70,000 people, nobody was surprised. This is the reason for this figure. Actually, approximately 1,000 people died and about 100 of them were killed in Timisoara. With regard to the nature of the revolution, had there been a conspiracy to overthrow Ceausescu, this would constitute a badge of honor and nobody would have any reason not to admit it. On the contrary, this was the opposition's weakness. Of course, this is so because there was reaction in the Army, demonstrations by the coal miners in 1977 and 1986, reaction by the intellectuals, and the open letter of the politicians. I had been well known for my opposition stance since 1971, and this is why I am respected by the people who appreciated my stance for so many years. However, all these instances of reaction were never translated into an organized movement. Therefore, everything about a conspiracy is childish. Why should they conceal it after Ceausescu's fall?

[Kouloglou] I will tell you why—because two of your old associates, Nicolae Militaru and Nicolae Radau, maintain in the French magazine LE POINT that this conspiracy was taking place with the tacit consent of the Securitate.

[Iliescu] All this is fairy tales or unfulfilled fears. Radau is an eccentric with a good imagination. I had some contacts with Militaru and Ionice, but I since realized that he [not further identified] was a dangerous adventurer. When the Securitate arrested him in 1977, he said more than he knew, and then we decided to cease all contacts with such a man.

Now he has surfaced again, probably to show that he knows many secrets and to claim many achievements, but all this is unfounded fairy tales. They took real incidents but exaggerated them and turned them into a detective story.

[Kouloglou] Following the changes of 1989 in East Europe, the Balkans again seem like a powder keg if we look at the situation in Albania or Yugoslavia. Do you favor a special relationship among the Balkan states?

[Iliescu] The problems in our region are great, and the Balkans have again become a sensitive European area. It is difficult to forecast the course of each Balkan country separately. However, I believe it is in the common interest of all the Balkan states to renew their bilateral and multilateral contacts so that the Balkans play a positive role in Europe, irrespective of the internal developments in each country. Not only proximity but also the traditional ties of cooperation constitute a firm basis for the promotion of such relations among our countries, which would also contribute to the internal stability of each country as well as to the European developments.

[Kouloglou] What form do you think inter-Balkan cooperation could acquire?

[Iliescu] I believe that any initiative which would help bilateral and multilateral relations is positive. I hope that Greece and Romania will play a positive role. Our two countries never had any differences; on the contrary, their common interests and mutual respect always rendered the Greek-Romanian friendship fruitful during the period between the two World Wars and afterward when both countries played a positive role in inter-Balkan relations. I believe that the joint efforts to revive and develop this traditional friendship are now even more necessary.

[Kouloglou] Have you considered the possibility of extending an invitation to your Greek counterpart or an invitation from your government to the Greek Government?

[Iliescu] That is included in our plans. We appreciate the Greek side's firm and balanced stance toward developments in Romania and at the discussions held in the EEC and the Council of Europe. France, Spain, Italy, and Greece were always on the side of Romania, and we especially appreciate this.

Demonstrators Protest 'Genocide' Arrests Delay

AU0708100590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest (ROMPRES) 7 Aug—Led by the Association for the Truth of the Revolution about 1500 inhabitants of the city of Cluj participated on Monday (August 6) in a demonstration of protest against further delaying the arresting and punishment of those guilty of genocide in Cluj county. The demonstrators laid wreaths and lit candles in Liberty Square, where the first people were shot in the evening of December 21. Antigovernment slogans were chanted. The participants showed their satisfaction at Marian Munteanu's release. Those who took the floor asked for the open trial of those guilty of the shooting in Cluj to begin without delay. The demonstration was peaceful, without incidents.

RNUP Protests Appointing Hungarian Leaders

AU0608195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1739 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/8/1990—The Steering Committee of the Romanians National Unity Party [RNUP] protests the demands of the county organizations of the MDUR [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania], Madisz and the Smallholders Party to have Hungarian prefects, deputy prefects and mayors appointed in the Counties of Covasna and Harghita, and in other Transylvanian counties, a RNUP statement sent to ROMPRES shows. "For the government to fulfill its programme" the statement shows "representatives of the NSF [National Salvation Front] should lead the counties, cities, towns and communes—as the parliament of the country also upheld—not of the MDUR whose political programme is against the fundamental interests and aspirations of the unitary Romanian national state."

The National Salvation Front and the Government of Romania must be true to their electorate and not put MDUR representatives at the helm of counties. If the government yields to pressure, inter-ethnic conflicts will grow and the Romanians exodus from the Counties of Covasna and Harghita will reach mass proportions. The statement also asks the government to intervene for unlawful Hungarian names abusively given to several Transylvanian places after the revolution to be canceled.

Vatra Romaneasca Council Meets in Covasna

AU0608195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1751 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/8/1990—The National Steering Council of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union met in working session in the city of Covasna on 4 and 5 August 1990. Representatives of the Popular Front of Moldavia, of the League of Victims in North-West Transylvania and of the Association of Refugees From North-West Transylvania took part.

The items that were discussed included among others a timetable of the "Vatra Romaneasca" activities in the period ahead, its steering council's proposal to commemorate 30 August 1940, aspects deriving from the articles published in the press on the appointment of the prefect of Harghita County.

On the last item, the steering council decided to send an appeal to the government and the prime minister.

ROK Foreign Minister Arrives, Meets Nastase

AU0608174890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/8/1990—The minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Korea [ROK] Mr. Choe Ho-chung, together with his wife, Mrs. Kim Woo Myung [spelling as received], arrived in the Romanian capital city on Monday for a three-day official visit.

At the International Otopeni Airport the South-Korean guests were welcomed by Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, and Mrs. Daniela Nastase, as well as by other officials.

Present was the ambassador of Korea in Bucharest, Mr. Hyun Hong Lee and his wife.

During his visit—the first of a representative of the Seoul Government after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Korea in March—Mr. Choe Ho-chung will conduct talks at the headquarters of several ministries in Bucharest, when possibilities to develop economic bilateral relations will be approached and identified.

After his arrival, upon request by a "ROMPRES" editor, the guest made a statement saying he was honoured and enchanted with his visit to this beautiful country, with meeting the Romanian foreign minister after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. He said he hoped his visit would fully contribute to the future development of the two countries' ties in various areas of activity.

Loncar Holds Talks With Turkey's Bozer on Kuwait

LD0608191890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Ankara, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is unacceptable and it is necessary for Iraq to withdraw its troops immediately, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Ali Bozer, Turkish minister of foreign affairs, concluded today in Ankara.

In connection with the new crisis in the Middle East, Budimir Loncar, who is on a two-day official and friendly visit to Turkey, and his host Ali Bozer noted in particular that the Iraqi action is in complete discord with overall developments throughout the world. The joint stand is that it is necessary to lend support to the preservation of the sovereignty and legitimacy of the Kuwaiti Government. Both sides drew attention to collective efforts made by the international community for overcoming the crisis and its consequences.

In the course of today's talks, the Yugoslav and Turkish foreign ministers discussed relations between the two countries and cooperation in the Balkans. Great significance was attached to the traditionally friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey, especially in light of the new relations in Europe and the world. Both sides concluded that it is necessary to hold top-level political talks in the future. The agreement to revitalize Balkan cooperation, begun at the ministerial meeting in Belgrade, was particularly emphasized.

National minorities, Loncar and Bozer assessed, should not be a source of suspicion or conflict among Balkan countries, but should be the lever for creating new trust among countries which have to find a joint modus vivendi.

Special attention was paid to specific issues of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Turkey. The current level of this cooperation is not in keeping with the potentials of the two countries, and the two sides hope that the Loncar-Bozer talks may become a stimulus for their further development and expansion. To begin with, it was thought, use must be made of the dynamic economic growth of Turkey and of the radical economic reform in Yugoslavia. The possibility of integrating private enterprise and capital was especially pointed out, since about 3 million people of Yugoslav extraction live in Turkey.

Budimir Loncar and Ali Bozer will resume their talks tomorrow, and they will be discussing, among other things, the activity of the Nonaligned Movement and of the Pentagonal Group. Turkey recently has been paying more and more attention to regional cooperation.

The federal secretary of foreign affairs is expected to have a meeting tomorrow with Turkish Premier Yildirim Akbulut, which will mark the end of Budimir Loncar's visit to Turkey.

'Deep Concern' Expressed Over Liberian Situation

LD0608144890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1304 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia with deep concern follows reports on intensified fighting in Liberia," official Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman set out on Monday [6 August].

"It is with regret that we note that the number of casualties is on the rise among civilians which makes the situation in Liberia even more dramatic" he said and appealed on behalf of Yugoslavia to the warring sides to as urgently as possible put an end to the bloodshed. Such internal conflicts cannot be solved through the use of arms but only by opening constructive dialogue at a national level in the interest of all sides and of the people of this friendly nonaligned country," the spokesman said. He added that Yugoslavia "highly praises the neighbouring countries and the Organization of African Unity for their endeavors in seeking a solution to the crisis in Liberia."

Militia Uses Tear Gas Against Podujevo Officials

AU0708102490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Text] A group of ethnic Albanian delegates of the Podujevo Communal Assembly tried to hold a session in front of the Assembly building at 1000 [0800 GMT] today in order to extend support to the so-called constitutional declaration which proclaimed Kosovo a republic on 2 July.

There were an unusually large number of pedestrians at that time in the center of Podujevo and about 200 of them joined the group of delegates. The forces of law and order warned those who had gathered to disperse several times and since they did not listen they used tear gas.

The militia intervention lasted 10 minutes and then it was quiet in this Kosovo town. Militia patrols control all approaches to Podujevo.

Ethnic Albanian delegates attempted to hold a session of the Podujevo Communal Assembly in the same way as this was done last week in Titova Mitrovica, Vucitrn, and Klina. The aim of the Albanian separatists is to take over communal power since they have lost considerable support in the provincial Assembly and the Kosovo Government.

Pristina Radio, TV Suspends 550 Albanian Workers

LD0708030790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—A total of 550 ethnic Albanian employees of Pristina Radio and Television have been suspended for failing to heed the appeal to return to work after striking for over a month, a news conference in Pristina Radio and Television was told today.

Temporary measures were introduced in Pristina's Radio and TV early in July.

The new management said it had encountered a chaotic situation, with employee lists including several dozen people who have failed to turn up for work for months.

Pristina Radio and Television could continue working normally with one-third less employees, while allowing a half of its subscribers to skip payments.

A similar chaotic situation faces Kosovo's electric power industry, where temporary measures were also introduced at the beginning of July.

Electricity production was halved due to employees' refusal to work, thefts and sabotage, strikes and tense inter-ethnic relations. The debt of Kosovo's power industry now stands at 400 million dollars, today's statement said.

The stabilization of the situation in the power industry has met with opposition from the so-called Independent Trade Union whose members are only ethnic Albanians.

That trade union threatens the newly-appointed management and workers who support the introduction of temporary measures by the Assembly of Serbia.

Meanwhile, Serbs and Montenegrins in Gnjilane are embittered after four ethnic Albanians attacked and seriously injured a Serb policeman late Friday. The names of the attackers have not yet been announced because of the investigation.

In Kosovo, 600 Serbs and Montenegrins attacked a number of ethnic Albanians sent a [word indistinct] to the Assembly of Serbia, demanding the dissolution of the Podujevo town assembly for its long-standing separatist policies and support to the recent declaration by ethnic Albanian provincial assembly delegates who demanded that Kosovo become a republic.

'Workers Party' Leader on Serbian Constitution

AU0608203490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Report on speech by Miroslav Jovanovic, president of the Workers Party of Yugoslavia; place and date not given]

[Text] Continuing the series in which representatives of various parties discuss the draft Constitution of Serbia, tonight we present the views of the president of the Workers Party of Yugoslavia [words indistinct]. This Belgrade-based party has about (?4,000) members from all over the country, with the exception of Slovenia. The party strives for the prevention of workers' exploitation by either the state or by foreign or domestic capital. The party also strives to achieve the true price of labor. It is explicitly against the sale of enterprises in the manner announced. It is not against mixed ownership, but (?wants everything to be) regulated by law. Here is Miroslav Jovanovic, president of the Workers Party of Yugoslavia:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] [Words indistinct] a bad practice that all important public debates are concluded... [corrects himself] are partially conducted. The basic and perhaps the most important objection is that the draft Constitution of Serbia is the work of a single party (?state). All its other shortcomings stem from this. Some people may say that the public discussion is here to supplement and change everything that is not good.

The practice, however, shows and has shown that public debates in our country primarily have a formal character, that they are meant to demonstrate democracy, but that everything basically remains the way the proposer originally imagined or envisaged. In this sense, I am afraid that our talk or some other talks do not have and will not have any greater importance.

One must, however, admit that, despite these objections, this Constitution represents a considerable move forward in relation to the existing Constitution. However, since the task of the opposition is not to praise but to critically examine the proposed text and [word indistinct], we propose that the term socialist be dropped from the current name of Serbia and that Serbia be called the People's Republic of Serbia, because it should really become a people's state. This seems to be the current view of the people in Serbia.

This is why the Constitution should contain as few declarative (?paper) rights and obligations as possible, such as the provision according to which schooling is free when we all know that it is extremely expensive and that it is not in line with what our citizens can afford.

In the part of the Constitution which refers, for example, to a healthy environment, one must stress that endangering the environment must be regarded as a crime toward [word indistinct], which is currently being done by official state organs to a great extent.

True, the Constitution explicitly forbids forced labor, but if we continue to pay for our work the way we (?are paying for it) at present, [words indistinct] forced labor. Therefore, according to the Workers Party of Yugoslavia, the Constitution must guarantee a decent life to all those who work, and just social and [word indistinct] protection to all those prevented from working for whatever reason.

In the part of the Constitution that refers to the economic and social structure, four forms of ownership are mentioned: social, state, private, and cooperative ownership. The Workers Party believes that this part of the Constitution is not properly formulated, and we propose only two forms of ownership: state and private ownership.

Although one can understand and even justify the political motives of the proposer that the presidency or the president of the republic—we think this should be the president—may dissolve the assembly, we oppose this proposal altogether because this power could be abused. Moreover, the Constitution does not state who the presidency or the president of the state are accountable

to. It should state that it is or that he is accountable to the people and that this accountability could be established by the constitutional court, as is already [word indistinct]. [end recording]

Seven Serbian Parties Register With Secretariat

LD0608182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—Seven parties have been registered so far with the republican Secretariat for Justice: the Socialist Party of Serbia [Sociajalisticka Partija Srbije]; the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove]; the Serbian National Renaissance [Srpska Narodna Obnova]; the Serbian Chetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret]; the Serbian St. Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka]; the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka]; and the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka].

Mitrovic: No Fear of 'Parliamentary Blockade'

LD0608160190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—Deputy Yugoslav Prime Minister Aleskandar Mitrovic today said that the federal "government does not fear the blockade in the assembly of Yugoslavia and does not consider it to be final."

Speaking about the parliamentary blockade, effected by a sharp criticism of the federal governments agricultural policy by the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Vojvodina, Mitrovic said that the "adjustment of views had only to be put off for early September because there was not enough time."

Mitrovic made the statement at a meeting held with a group of directors of leading firms from across Yugoslavia, at which an agreement was reached to set up the "Club of 50 Golden Sponsors," as part of a more offensive presentation of the Yugoslav economy's potentials in the world.

The club will be made up of ten founders, which will invest, each, $50,000, and 40 members, each of whom will invest $30,000.

The "Club of 50 Golden Sponsors," a marketing company, will primarily focus on informing the world public about the economic and social reforms in Yugoslavia, and will be financed also from the pooled funds of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the Tourism Federation of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav trade missions abroad.

A contract has already been signed on a series of presentations of the Yugoslav economy's possibilities on the CNN TV channel, and international biddings are to be organized to attract foreign investments in Yugoslavia.

It is interesting that Damir Muhovic, director of the private firm Dex International of Split, Croatia, was the first "golden sponsor" to apply.

Tudjman Discusses Sovereignty, Ethnic Relations

AU0608133790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 90 pp 2, 3

[Interview with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, with VJESNIK editor Hida Biscevic and Hrvoje Hitrec, of Croation Radio and Television, in Zagreb on 27 July: "Croatia Among the Countries of the Free World"; first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Excerpts] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received Hida Biscevic, chief and responsible editor of VJESNIK, and Hrvoje Hitrec, director of Croatian Radio and Television, on Friday morning [27 July] and in a long interview answered questions concerning the political, social, and economic life of Croatia which have occupied the public's attention since a sovereign Republic of Croatia was established. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The Croatian question cannot be resolved independently of the Yugoslav question. Mr. Jovic recently stated that this issue would be settled by the end of the year. You recently had talks with him and you are probably aware of what prompted this statement. Could you explain it to us in more detail?

[Tudjman] It is very indicative that such changes have taken place in interethnic relations and in relations among the federal supreme bodies and republics in Yugoslavia that even the champions of centralism, and not to say, unitarism, have had to finally admit that the time has come whereby one can no longer impose one's will on anyone else. And this is important. This must also be admitted by those who would even want to restore Tito's previous federal system and who would want to reduce the rights of the republics. However, the development of domestic and international circumstances has been such that they have to accept different principles.

It is difficult to foresee what will happen. However, I can state in any case that the leadership of the new Croatia believes that we can no longer indulge in any illusions in the process of reaching agreement on the future structure of the relations between the peoples and nationalities of the present Yugoslavia and that we can no longer make any concessions to common interests which conceal something else that is not in the interest of the Croatian people.

I think that there is cause for optimism in these circumstances. I think that all of us are actually what I could say "doomed" to having to come to agreement through a democratic route on whether we can live together and under what circumstances. Our attitude in Croatia is clear. We believe that a solution can only be sought on confederal foundations and that a future community can only be a union of sovereign states and sovereign republics. Slovenia supports the exact same views. It could be seen in the talks so far that even the present leaderships in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia have similar views to these despite the differences in terminology in the concept of a federation and a confederation. The

others hold different views. Indeed, we have not yet had talks with the representatives of Montenegro and Serbia, but as far as this can be seen at joint meetings, they lean toward a federal solution, so the question is to be asked: Why does someone find it unacceptable to have a confederal composition which guarantees full equality in all fields? Why is someone already opposing this solution in advance?

It is nevertheless essential that everyone agrees that no one can impose their will and that therefore a solution should be sought in a mutual agreement or even contract. Matters have even gone so far that those representatives who do not agree with the confederal principle have proposed a law on secession. However, in its draft form, this law is not acceptable to us or to the leadership of Slovenia. Apart from that, this does not at all involve the problem of secession but the right of a people to self-determination, the basic right to independence, and the question of whether we will reach an agreement on living together on this basis. This does not involve any secession in such a way that someone regulates whether someone else has the right to secede, how they secede, and so on.

[Reporter] Does the creation of this "negotiating" context in Yugoslavia after a 10-year nightmare mean that factors of instability have already been marginalized on the domestic Croatian scene, as this has been attempted through the so-called Serbian question in Croatia?

[Tudjman] We must be completely realistic and say that the new leadership in Croatia has provided in a constitutional, legal, and practical way and actually guaranteed all civil and national rights for the Serbian people including those which they have not had before—the right to an independent cultural and ethnic life. There is no longer any uncertainty in this respect.

However, we have in the last few days been faced with a scenario which wants to use the existence of the Serbian people and the existence of the eleven percent of Serbian people in Croatia to destabilize the democratic order in Croatia even in the specific sense of the "kosovization" of Croatia. However, they will not succeed in this because, just as we have so far succeeded in avoiding all these and similar scenarios since the elections, the meeting that was held the day before yesterday in Srb did not succeed in provoking the Serbian people in Croatia to the extent that had been announced.

They announced that 300,000 people would go to the meeting, and they brought people not only from Croatia but also Bosnia, Vojvodina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Nis.... However, this was not an expression of the complete mood of the Serbian people in Croatia. I can assure you that in contrast to this meeting—regardless of whether 30,000 or 50,000 people gathered there, I do not know how many.... this is a question of objective estimates—the real mood is clearly shown by the fact that only five deputies of Raskovic's party went there, while 24 deputies of Serbian nationality who were elected from the leftist bloc were with us in the Assembly on Radic Square. Therefore, by what right can it be said that these five deputies express the will of the Serbian people?!

Second, both I personally and the Assembly's Constitutional Commission have received telegrams and telephone calls in which prominent Serbs and many Serbian citizens assure us that they do not agree with the kind of policy which even incites the Serbian people to an uprising, but they are aware that the new democratic government in Croatia guarantees their civil rights and that there is no reason for these actions which want to "kosovize" Croatia. Why? First, to distract the attention of the domestic and foreign public away from events in Serbia, where all the Albanian's autonomous rights have been scrapped. Second, if attempts were made to bring down the democratic government in Croatia, then the democratic government in Slovenia would automatically fall and the stage would be set for the crushing of even the kind of federation, which has existed until now, and the establishment of a centralistic-unitaristic-hegemonistic Yugoslavia. However, as one can see, this is not succeeding and those who were concerned with these ideas have already experienced defeats and I think that they do not have any chance whatsoever.

To answer your question, we could definitely say that despite these endeavors—and they will continue in the future too— we can definitely consider that what we have so far achieved offers guarantees that we will create a stable order and not only normal conditions for the common life of all citizens on Croatian territory, but also prerequisites for a normal established process of reaching agreement between Croatia and Serbia and other democratic peoples and republics in Yugoslavia in a democratic way. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Just now you mentioned the concept of "kosovization" as set out in the Memorandum [leaked from the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences].

[Tudjman] Yes. I recently found out that this Memorandum was written in Raskovic's villa, in the presence of Raskovic.

[Reporter] As you have mentioned the concept "kosovization," we would like to know what actually is the stand of the Croatian leadership concerning Kosovo with regard to a potential new confederal mosaic?

[Tudjman] You see, as democrats, we are in favor of the national rights of the Albanian people being protected in Kosovo. We think that the issue of Kosovo cannot be resolved in any other way than in a democratic way. What is happening in Kosovo is actually a violation of the present constitutional rights that have been guaranteed for the Albanian people since 1974. In this respect, it is interesting for us that at the same time that the elected bodies were being scrapped and a situation was being created whereby no one can be found any longer among the Albanian people to take over official posts, here in Croatia, under conditions whereby the new Croatian democratic government is guaranteeing and

giving those rights to the Serbian people in Croatia which they have not had so far—the founding of special cultural societies, the use of the Cyrillic script, and so forth—there have been attempts to direct "Memorandum" situations. After all, the new Croatian government will not be tricked into agreeing to Kosovo actually not having any autonomy and to the "representatives" of the province being, as is the case with Vojvodina, yet another voice in resolving the question of a federal system. In the same way, we will not allow a large percentage of national income to be earmarked as aid to the undeveloped and Kosovo, and for this to be used in an undemocratic way and in a way which is not in line with the interests of the peoples of present day Yugoslavia and today's world. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] In the new circumstances in Croatia, as well as on the present Yugoslav scene, how do you see the current behavior and possible future role of the Army?

[Tudjman] I am of the opinion that the Yugoslav Army should nevertheless show more feeling for the democratic trends in Yugoslavia and the world. However, apart from that, it should be recognized that the Yugoslav Army has so far remained to one side and stuck to its main task, and that is defending the country from foreign aggression. However, we in Croatia and the leadership of Slovenia are not satisfied with many moves that the Army has made.

Apart from that, it is more than anachronistic that barracks still have communist flags flying alongside the Yugoslav one, and this, even after all the leaderships in Yugoslavia have come out in favor of pluralism and democracy, while to judge by its external symbols, the Army continues to be oriented toward ideology. This is an anachronism that should be surmounted. Apart from that, the Yugoslav Army has obviously not shown any inclination to live with the new democratic order in Croatia and Slovenia and it will probably have to very soon harmonize this issue with the democratic changes in Croatia and Slovenia. Moreover, democratic and pluralist elections have been announced in all the other republics, so the army cannot remain oriented toward a single party and defend an order that no longer exists.

[Reporter] In the context of defining relations with the Army, will the issue be raised of where army conscripts from Croatia do their army service?

[Tudjman] Not only this demand. Within the context of our demand for setting up a new Yugoslavia—if it wants to survive, and it can survive only on confederal foundations as an alliance of states—one of the important questions that we will raise is the set up of the Army. We will no longer put up with the situation whereby someone outside Croatia gives orders to the territorial defense...and even has it at their disposal. Therefore, in the context of generally settling relations among the republics we are endeavoring to also settle the issue of the Army.

I believe—and there is no other option—that the army leadership should adapt itself because after all, as we know, the Army was engaged in Kosovo although not with arms and should have protected the changes which were taking place there, but the circumstances in Kosovo only intensified even more. This is particularly the case if this Army were to attempt to prevent the existing changes in this part of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the Army must adapt itself. I repeat, this Army was not created on any unitaristic and hegemonistic principles...true it was set up after a decision by the Supreme Command but on units that were set up within the framework of the general staff of Croatia and so on. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] It somehow seems that during these tumultuous political changes, economic policy has remained in the background, particularly in the area of the transformation of ownership. In your opinion, will the transformation in this area rest more on the state-interventionist model, colored with national patriotism, or will it rest on the concept of the independence of economic entities and the entrepreneurial element in the legal order?

[Tudjman] On the second alternative that you mentioned. It should be said above all that the idea is incorrect that the Croatian government does not have its own concept, because the problem facing all socialist countries is how to move from social ownership, whereby the property belongs to no one, onto the foundations of a free market and clearly recognizable ownership and entrepreneurship.

Experts from Croatia also participated in formulating the program of the Markovic government. Overall, there is no better concept at the moment than the one that Markovic has presented as regards reprivatisation and a shift to the free market. There is only a problem in what you mentioned...the potential strengthening of state interventionism. We in Croatia are in favor of not returning to state interventionism, except in areas which are socially owned even in quite developed capitalist countries, like radio and television, the railroads, the electricity generating industry, and post office and telecommunications, and virtually nothing else. Everything else should be given over to entrepreneurship, and even what we have now listed should also be surrendered to competition and private entrepreneurship when circumstances allow and conditions are created. Therefore, in this sense we in Croatia are resolute in seeking solutions on the basis of the free market, privatisation, and entrepreneurship. In this respect, we are also counting on the participation of considerable capital from emigrants, but also on cooperation with other states. I am pleased to mention that interest has been expressed in many European and non-European countries in joining our projects. [passage omitted]

Croatian LC Completes Draft Political Program

LD0608120190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The committee for the preparation of the Congress of the Croat League of

Communists-Party of Democratic Changes [SKH-SDP] has completed a draft political program, which will be sent to municipal committees as the basic document for the transformation of this party. The draft program declares the party to be a sovereign political organization of the left in Croatia with a European orientation, which will base its decisions on political democracy and the market economy. It is proposed that in the future the party be called either the Socialist Democratic Party of Croatia [Socijalisticka Demokratska Partija Hrvatske] or the Party of Democratic Changes of Croatia [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena Hrvatske]. The party, it says, is, in the long term, politically interested in the democratic conception of national policy and opposes the exclusivity of undemocratic national options. "We are a party of national equality, tolerance, and cooperation," it says in the draft. The activity of the party as a political force throughout Yugoslavia, too, regardless of changes to the existing state system, is implied.

Muslim Party Holds Rally in Sandzak Area

AU0608162390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 90 p 13

[Milorad Cirilovic report: "Everything Serbian Bothers Them"]

[Excerpts] Novi Pazar, 30 Jul—An unprecedented gathering—attended by tens of thousands of Muslims from all over Yugoslavia, and judging by the license plates of numerous cars with the badges of the Party of Democratic Action, from all corners of the world—was concluded in Novi Pazar and the surrounding area (the inhabitants of which are more than 90-percent Muslim), in the old Raska—or the new Sandzak—late in the evening, the day before last. The Muslims indulged themselves in a large celebration, thanks to the permission granted to hold the founding assembly of the Sandzak branch of the Party of Democratic Action of Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

The Party of Democratic Action showed itself to be very active, but the speeches of its leading people and the behavior of the crowd (or rather the demonstrators marking their imaginary victory) could hardly be called democratic. They tore up pictures and newspapers with anything Serbian in them. The name Serbia was most often mentioned as the main cause of all troubles of the Muslims living in the Sandzak. Everything that was said at the rostrum against Serbia was received with an indescribable flood of approval and applause. [passage omitted]

Alija Izetbegovic, the self-proclaimed leader of all Yugoslav Muslims, also received ovations. The chanting "Aljo, Aljo" lifted the roof of the stadium when he got out of a BMW 520 with Swiss license plates. He was surrounded by loyal escorts, leading men of the party, and bodyguards. He spoke loudly and slowly so that everybody could better hear and understand him. And the people obviously did, especially when he stressed the need for the cultural, educational, and if need be, political autonomy of the Sandzak, because "the Muslims will no longer ask others what to do." [passage omitted]

Adil Zulfikarpasic, vice president of the Party of Democratic Action (which many believe will soon change its name to the Party of Yugoslav Muslims) and a "politician and businessman," said that this was "the biggest gathering of Muslims in Yugoslavia that he has attended." He is right, there have not been any bigger gatherings except the famous gatherings by Muslims in Kosovo and Metohija in last few years. The only difference is that this gathering had a Muslim rather than a nationalist precursor and spirit. Is this kind of organizing of Muslims not an attempt to shift the center of Islam to the Sandzak, or the Raska area? Every Muslim delegate in whatever assembly (the Serbian or Yugoslav Assembly) has been threatened if they support the idea of changing the name of Sandzak to the Raska area. All such delegates would be recalled! Is this also a democratic action?